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PROSPECTS

AL-TAHTĀWĪ
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VARELA
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Prefatory note

This is the fourth and last volume (Rogers to Wallon) of our four-volume series of Prospects containing a total of 100 monographs on 'Thinkers on education'. The whole series covers the issues of Prospects scheduled for 1993 and 1994 in the form of four double issues, namely: nos. 85/86, 87/88, 89/90 and 91/92.

For a thorough analysis of the reasons for this series, the selection of famous educators, the order of presentation and the intended readership, readers are referred to the introduction written by Zaghloul Morsy, 'The Paideia Galaxy', which appeared in no. 85/86.

A complete list of the thinkers on education appearing in this series, together with the names of the contributors, is given at the end of this issue.

The editorial preparation of this issue has been undertaken by the staff of the International Bureau of Education, Geneva, Switzerland.

CARL ROGERS

(1902–87)

Fred Zimring

Carl Rogers was one of the most prominent American psychologists of his generation. He had an uncommon view of human nature which led him to originate a unique psychotherapy and gave him a different view of education.

His career was something of a contradiction. As a person and as a psychologist he was widely admired. In several surveys of American psychologists, he was named as one of the most influential. His therapeutic method, however, generated much controversy. His method reflected his view of human nature. This view is that there is in the person an ability to actualize the self, which, if freed, will result in the person solving his or her own problems. The therapist was not to be an expert who understood the problem and decided how it should be solved. Rather, the therapist should free the client's power to solve personal problems. This position about therapy was controversial because it was contrary to the usual professional assumption that the client needs an expert to solve his or her problems.

This same view of human nature shaped his writings about education. Here he asserted that the student has interests and enthusiasms, and the task of the teacher was to free and to aid these interests and enthusiasms.

It may help in understanding the cast of Rogers' thinking to know that he was born into a family with many Midwestern farm values. Some of these values had to do with the pioneering attitudes towards independence. These values may have led to his belief that the person will act in ways that are good for the person, if freed from having to learn the way the society dictates. The farm experiences taught Rogers about the inevitability and strength of growth in nature. Intellectually, he emerged from a background which culminated in the experiential ideas of John Dewey and in the liberal Protestant theological beliefs of Paul Tillich and others, which were concerned with the internal dimensions of religious experience.

His lifelong interest in nature and growth led to his choosing agriculture as his undergraduate major at the University of Wisconsin. After several years in

college, he decided that his future lay in religious work. In 1924, he went to the Union Theological Seminary where, after two years, he came to feel that he could not work in a field where he was required to believe in a specific religious doctrine.

He then went to the Teachers College, Columbia University, where he was strongly influenced by William H. Kilpatrick's courses in the philosophy of education and where he came into contact with John Dewey's emphasis on experience as the basis for learning. Rogers became a clinical psychologist specializing in child guidance and then spent twelve years at the Rochester Child Guidance Clinic. At the start of his work at Rochester, he was immersed in providing psychological services in the traditional manner. Near the end of his time there he began to question the current authoritative methods of diagnosing the problem and guiding the patient. Instead, he began to see that his clients had a better knowledge than himself about what was important and they could be relied on to determine what direction to take after receiving therapy.

In 1940, Rogers moved to Ohio State University. He began to realize that he had developed a distinctive point of view about psychotherapy which he presented in *Counseling and Psychotherapy* (1942). From the very beginning at Ohio State University he made his teaching more experiential, requiring the students in his courses to determine the direction of the course and its content.

He moved to the University of Chicago in 1945 where his growing awareness of his viewpoint as a distinctive type of therapy resulted, in 1951, in the publication of *Client-Centered Therapy*. In a chapter on 'Student-Centered Teaching', he discussed the evolution of his thinking about teaching as paralleling the change in his thought about psychotherapy. Part of this evolution was from being 'non-directive' to emphasizing the importance of attitudes rather than techniques. His first principle in this chapter was: 'we cannot teach another person directly; we can only facilitate his learning'. He saw the leader as setting the mood, clarifying the purposes for the members of the class and serving as a flexible resource for them.

The central conditions

In 'The Necessary and Sufficient Conditions of Therapeutic Personality Change' (1957) Rogers made a major statement of his ideas about psychotherapy. Later he extended these ideas to education. Of the six conditions described, three are central. One was that '. . . the therapist be congruent or integrated in the relationship'. This therapist congruency, also termed therapist genuineness or transparency, refers to the therapist's awareness of the way he/she experiences the relationship and his/her attitude to the client. This condition also refers to the therapist's willingness to communicate about this experience if it stands in the way of the two other central conditions.

Another of these central conditions was that 'the therapist experiences an unconditional positive regard for the client'. Rogers said: 'to the extent that the

therapist finds himself as experiencing a warm acceptance of each aspect of the client's experience, as being part of that client, he is experiencing unconditional positive regard.'

The last central condition was that 'the therapist experiences an empathic understanding of the client's internal frame of reference and endeavours to communicate this experience to the client.' Rogers says: 'To sense the client's private world as if it was your own, but without losing the "as if" quality – this is empathy, and this seems essential to therapy.'

It should be emphasized that these conditions were thought to be sufficient as well as necessary. What was not necessary should be noted. Nothing other than the above conditions was seen as important. The therapist does not have to understand the client's personality or problems, nor guide the client to solving the problem. It is enough if the therapist is genuine and unconditionally accepting, while empathically understanding the client.

Writing in 1959 in 'Significant Learning in Therapy and in Education', he stated a set of conditions in education that paralleled those that he had stated for psychotherapy. These were that significant learning can occur only to the degree that the student is working on problems that are real to him; that significant learning can be facilitated only to the degree that the teacher is genuine and congruent. In addition, 'the teacher who can warmly accept, who can provide unconditional positive regard, and can empathize with the feelings of fear, anticipation and discouragement which are involved in meeting new materials, will have done a great deal toward setting the conditions for learning.'

After a dozen years at Chicago, Rogers went to the University of Wisconsin and, in 1963, on leaving that university, he also left academia. Until his death in 1987 he was a member of independent institutes, first the Western Sciences Behavioral Institute and then the Center for the Studies of the Person. It was in this period that his writings, especially his 1969 book *Freedom to Learn*, began to reflect his broad interests in education.

In this book, revised and republished as *Freedom to Learn for the 80s* (1983), he emphasized the process of seeking knowledge. He said that, because of the continually changing atmosphere in which we live, we are:

> . . . faced with an entirely new situation in education where the goal of education, if we are to survive, is the facilitation of change and learning. The only man who is educated is the man who has learned how to adapt and change; the man who has realized that no knowledge is secure, that only the process of seeking knowledge gives a basis for security. Changingness, a reliance on process rather than upon static knowledge, is the only thing that makes any sense as a goal for education in the modern world (p. 104).

Rogers described his goals in these words:

> I see the facilitation of learning as the aim of education, the way in which we develop the learning man, the way in which we can learn to live as individuals in the process. I see the facilitation of learning as the function which may hold constructive, tentative, changing, process answers to some of the deepest perplexities which beset man today (p. 105).

As to how to achieve this goal, Rogers explains:

We know . . . that the initiation of such learning rests not upon the teaching skills of the leader, not upon his scholarly knowledge of the field, not upon his curricular planning, not upon his use of audiovisual aids, not upon the programmed learning he utilizes, not upon his lectures and presentations, not upon an abundance of books, although each of these might at one time or another be utilized as an important resource. No, the facilitation of significant learning rests upon certain attitudinal qualities which exist in the personal relationship between the facilitator and the learner (p. 105-06).

The first of these attitudinal qualities that facilitate learning (and these are the three core conditions mentioned above as they apply to education) is 'realness' in the facilitator of learning. About this quality Rogers states:

Perhaps the most basic of these essential attitudes is realness or genuineness. When the facilitator is a real person being what he is, entering into a relationship with the learner without presenting a front or facade, he is much more likely to be effective. This means that the feelings which he is experiencing are available to him, available to his awareness, that he is able to live these feelings, be them, and able to communicate them if appropriate. It means that he comes into a direct personal encounter with the learner, meeting him on a person-to-person basis. It means that he is being himself, not denying himself.

Seen from this point of view it is suggested that the teacher can be a real person in his relationship with his students. He can be enthusiastic, he can be bored, he can be interested in students, he can be angry, he can be sensitive and sympathetic. Because he accepts these feelings as his own, he has no need to impose them on his students. He can like or dislike a student product without implying that it is objectively good or bad or that the student is good or bad. He is simply expressing a feeling for the product, a feeling that exists within himself. Thus, he is a person to his students, not a faceless embodiment of a curricular requirement, nor a sterile tube through which knowledge is passed from one generation to another (p. 106).

The second group of these attitudes have qualities of prizing, acceptance and trust. About these Rogers comments:

There is another attitude which stands out in those who are successful in facilitating learning. I have observed this attitude. I have experienced it. Yet it is hard to know what term to put to it, so I will use several. I think of it as prizing the learner, prizing his feelings, his opinions, his person. It is a caring for the learner, but a non-possessive caring. It is an acceptance of this other individual as a separate person, having worth in his own right. It is a basic trust – a belief that this other person is somehow fundamentally trustworthy. Whether we call it prizing, acceptance, trust or some other term, it shows up in a variety of observable ways. The facilitator who has a considerable degree of this attitude can be fully acceptant of the fear and hesitation of the student as he approaches a new problem as well as acceptant of the pupil's satisfaction in achievement. Such a teacher can accept the student's occasional apathy, his erratic desires to explore the by-roads of knowledge, as well as his disciplined efforts to achieve major goals. He can accept personal feelings which both disturb and promote learning – rivalry with a sibling, hatred of authority, concern about personal adequacy. What we are describing is a prizing of the learner as an imperfect human being with many feelings, many potentials. The facilitator's prizing or

acceptance of the learner is an operational expression of his essential confidence and trust in the capacity of the human organism (p. 109).

As to the third attitudinal quality, Rogers observes:

A further element which establishes a climate for self-initiated, experiential learning is empathic understanding. When the teacher has the ability to understand the student's reaction from the inside, has a sensitive awareness of the way the process of education and learning seems to the student, then again the likelihood of significant learning is increased.

This kind of understanding is sharply different from the usual evaluative understanding which follows the pattern of 'I understand what is wrong with you'. When there is a sensitive empathy, however, the reaction in the learner follows something of this pattern, 'at last someone understands how it feels and seems to be me without wanting to analyze me or judge me. Now I can blossom and grow and learn.'

This attitude of standing in the other's shoes, of viewing the world through the student's eyes, is almost unheard of in the classroom. One could listen to thousands of ordinary classroom interactions without coming across one instance of clearly communicated, sensitively accurate, empathic understanding. But it has a tremendously releasing effect when it occurs (p. 111-12).

Rogers recognized that these attitudes are difficult to achieve. He goes on:

. . . it is natural that we do not always have the attitudes I have been describing. Some teachers raise the question, 'But what if I am not feeling empathic, do not, at this moment, prize or accept or like my students. What then?' My response is that realness is the most important of the attitudes mentioned. It is not accidental that this attitude was described first. So if one has little understanding of the student's inner world, and a dislike for his students or their behavior, it is almost certainly more constructive to be real than to be pseudo-empathic, or to put on a facade of caring.

But this is not nearly as simple as it sounds. To be genuine, or honest, or congruent, or real, means to be this way about oneself. I cannot be real about another, because I do not know what is real for him. I can only tell – if I wish to be truly honest – what is going on in me (p. 113).

As an example, Rogers mentions an incident in which a teacher reacted to the 'mess' of a sixth grade artwork class. She told her class: 'I find it maddening to live with this mess! I'm neat and orderly and it is driving me to distraction.' Discussing this incident Rogers said:

. . . suppose her feelings had come out differently, in the disguised way which is much more common in classrooms at all levels. She might have said: 'You are the messiest children I've ever seen! You don't care about tidiness or cleanliness. You are just terrible!' This is most definitely not an example of genuineness or realness, in the sense in which I am using these terms. There is a profound distinction between the two statements which I would like to spell out.

In the second statement she is telling nothing of herself, sharing none of her feelings. Doubtless the children will sense that she is angry, but because children are perceptively shrewd they may be uncertain as to whether she is angry at them, or has just come from

an argument with the principal. It has none of the honesty of the first statement in which she tells of her own upsetness, of her own feeling of being driven to distraction.

Another aspect of the second statement is that it is all made up of judgments or evaluation, and like most judgments, they are all arguable. Are these children messy, or are they simply excited and involved in what they are doing. Are they all messy, or are some as disturbed by the chaos as she?

Rogers understood the difficulties in achieving these attitudes. He stated it as follows:

> Actually the achievement of realness is most difficult, and even when one wishes to be truly genuine, it occurs but rarely. Certainly it is not a matter of the words used, and if one is feeling judgmental, the use of a verbal formula which sounds like the sharing of feelings will not help. It is just another instance of a facade, of a lack of genuineness. Only slowly can we learn to be truly real. For, first of all, one must be close to one's feelings, capable of being aware of them. Then one must be willing to take the risk of sharing them as they are, inside, not disguising them as judgments, or attributing them to other people (p. 114).

Principles for learning

Rogers abstracted a number of principles about learning. These principles (Rogers, 1969, p. 114) are:

1. Human beings have a natural potential for learning.
2. Significant learning takes place when the subject matter is perceived by the student as having relevance for his/her own purposes, when the individual has a goal he/she wishes to achieve and sees the material presented to him/her as relevant to the goal, learning takes place with great rapidity.
3. Learning which involves a change in self-organization – in the perception of oneself – is threatening and tends to be resisted.
4. Those learnings which are threatening to the self are more easily perceived and assimilated when external threats are at a minimum.
5. When the threat to the self is low, experience can be perceived in differentiated fashion and learning can proceed.
6. Much significant learning is acquired through doing.
7. Learning is facilitated when the student participates responsibly in the learning process.
8. Self-initiated learning which involves the whole person of the learner – feeling as well as intellect – is the most lasting and pervasive.
9. Independence, creativity and self-reliance are all facilitated when self-criticism and self-evaluation are basic and evaluation by others is of secondary importance.
10. The most socially useful learning in the modern world is the learning of the process of learning, a continuing openness to experience and to incorporate into oneself the process of change.

Some idea of what Rogers learned about methods of facilitating learning can be obtained from his guidelines for facilitating learning (Rogers, 1969, p. 164).

1. It is very important for the facilitator to set the initial mood or climate of the group or class experience.
2. The facilitator helps to elicit and clarify the purposes of the individuals in the class as well as the more general purposes of the group.

Rogers goes on to say about the facilitator: 'If he is not fearful of accepting contradictory purposes and conflicting aims, if he is able to permit the individual a sense of freedom in stating what they would like to do, then he is helping to create a climate for learning.'

3. The facilitator relies upon the desire of each student to implement those purposes which have meaning for the student, as the motivational force behind significant learning.
4. The facilitator endeavours to organize and make easily available the widest possible range of resources for learning.
5. The facilitator regards himself/herself as a flexible resource to be utilized by the group.
6. In responding to expressions in the classroom group, the facilitator accepts both the intellectual content and the emotionalized attitudes, endeavouring to give each aspect the approximate degree of emphasis which it has for the individual or the group.
7. As the acceptant classroom climate becomes established, the facilitator is able increasingly to become a participant learner, a member of the group, expressing his/her views as those of one individual only.
8. The facilitator takes the initiative in sharing himself/herself with the group – feelings as well as thoughts – in ways which neither demand nor impose, but represent simply a personal sharing which students may take or leave.
9. Throughout the classroom experience, the facilitator remains alert to the expressions indicative of deep or strong feelings.

Rogers goes on to say that these feelings should be understood and the empathic understanding should be communicated.

10. In his functioning as a facilitator of learning, the leader endeavours to recognize and accept his/her own limitations.

Rogers, in his explanation of this principle, explains how these limitations affect facilitation and also what the facilitator should do when his attitudes are not facilitative of learning. Rogers says that:

> He [the facilitator] can grant freedom to his students to the extent that he is comfortable in giving such freedom. He can only be understanding to the extent that he actually desires to enter the inner world of the students. He can only share himself to the extent that he is reasonably comfortable in taking that risk . . . There will be many times when his attitudes are not facilitative of learning. He will find himself being suspicious of his students. He will find it impossible to accept attitudes which differ strongly from his own. He will be unable to understand some of the students' feelings which are markedly different from his own. He may find himself angry and resentful of student attitudes

toward him and angry of student behaviors. He may find himself feeling strongly judgmental and evaluative. When he is experiencing attitudes which are non-facilitative, he will endeavor to get close to them, to be clearly aware of them, and to state them just as they are within himself. Once he has expressed these angers, these judgments, these mistrusts, these doubts of others as something coming from within himself, not as objective facts in outward reality, he will find the air cleared for a significant interchange between himself and his students. Such an interchange can go a long way toward resolving the very attitudes which he has been experiencing, and thus make it more possible for him to be more of a facilitator of learning.

Applying Rogers' principles

These principles have been put to use in a number of educational settings, such as programmes aimed at humanizing medical education, attempts to change the school system in California, teacher education and a graduate programme in nursing at the Medical College of Ohio.

In the latter programme, in using Rogerian principles to establish a master's degree in nursing, there were two recurring issues. One had to do with the faculty sharing power and responsibility. In some cases the faculty did not respect their own limits and granted students freedoms with which the faculty were not comfortable. For example, several faculty had allowed students to negotiate out of activities that the faculty considered essential to the student's learning. At times, the faculty felt hurt when the students did not recognize or value what the faculty had to offer. The authors of the article (Chickodonz et al., 1986) describe this experience:

> Considerable effort was required to create an environment in which students could express themselves openly to faculty. The faculty's mere verbalization of a safe environment did not make it safe in the students' experience. Honesty and openness were difficult to achieve. This was especially evident in handling students' confrontations with the faculty. As students became empowered, they were often angry with the faculty about course requirements (and grading criteria).
>
> Gradually it became clear that the person-centered approach was not an idealistic, utopian educational form. What was discovered to be true was that the person-centered approach is essentially a person-to-person relationship between teacher and students.

What was required was that the experience of both the teacher and the learner be acknowledged.

The second major issue was that of evaluating students and giving them grades for the course. As part of an academic institution, the faculty were expected to evaluate students. The usual type of evaluation by faculty was not seen by students as sharing with them the power and the responsibility for their learning. Gradually, faculty discovered strategies for sharing decisions in the evaluation process with students. One was to be very clear about the criteria for evaluation before the papers were assigned and written. Another was to comment on a draft

and allow the students to rewrite papers before they were given a grade. Yet another was to use peer evaluation in grading the papers.

There were three effects of this programme on students. One was that the students came to accept more responsibility for their learning and became more self-directed. Also, students felt less helpless and exercised more power in the academic setting. A third effect was that students established more interdependent relationships with faculty.

Frequently these Rogerian educational principles proved to be successful. However, sometimes school administrations and entrenched bureaucracies opposed the changes that were taking place and terminated some programmes. Rogers found that the politics of education and of the educational establishment were an important determinant of the success or failure of the use of these principles.

In addition to the reports of success or failure of programmes where these principles have been tried out, there has been research about the effects on the students of the facilitating attitudes of the teacher. In studies by Aspy and Roebuck, empathy, congruence and positive regard were measured by trained raters who rated audio tapes of the classroom interactions. In addition to rating for facilitating attitudes, the tapes were also rated for Flander's interaction analysis and for Bloom's Taxonomy of Educational Objectives.

Aspy and Roebuck report (1969):

> In one study involving 600 teachers, 10,000 students (from kindergarten to grade twelve) of teachers who were trained to offer high levels of empathy, congruence and positive regard were compared with control students of teachers who did not offer high levels of these facilitative conditions. The students of high facilitative teachers were found to:
>
> 1. Miss fewer days of school during the year;
> 2. Have increased scores on self-concept measures, indicating more positive self-regard;
> 3. Make greater gains on academic measures, including both math and reading scores;
> 4. Present fewer disciplinary problems;
> 5. Commit fewer acts of vandalism to school property;
> 6. Increase their scores on I.Q. tests (grades K-5);
> 7. Make gains in creativity scores from September to May; and
> 8. Be more spontaneous and use higher levels of thinking.
>
> In addition, these benefits were cumulative; the more years in succession that students had a high functioning teacher, the greater the gains when compared with students of low functioning teachers (Rogers, 1983, p. 202-03).

Aspy and Roebuck measured the effects of the facilitating attitudes on reading, mathematics and English achievement. They trained some teachers in these facilitative attitudes and then compared the achievement of the students taught by the trained and untrained teachers. Table 1 reports the results of one typical study.

TABLE 1. Mean differences in adjusted gain[1] between students of trained (facilitative) teachers and untrained teachers.

Grade Level	Reading Achievement	Math Achievement	English Achievement
1-3	+ 10.88[2]	Not Tested	Not Tested
4-6	+ 3.66[3]	+ 15.44[2]	+ 18.66[2]
7-9	+ 2.96[3]	+ 4.10[3]	+ 11.75[2]
10-12	+ 1.56[4]	+ 1.94[4]	+ 0.96[5]

NOTES

1. Covariates were intelligence quotient and pre-test standing.
2. $p<.001$
3. $p<.01$ - In favour of control (no training) group.
4. $p<.05$ + In favour of experimental (training) group.
5. Not significant

In summary, we have seen that Rogers was concerned with the motivation and self of the student rather than with how the student should be taught. Rogers assumed that there is in the student an innate capacity for growth, a self-actualizing process, which, if the process is freed, will lead to self-initiation and learning which is more rapid, more thorough and lasting than traditional learning.

These self-actualizing processes are freed when a teacher has particular attitudes. That is, these processes are freed and self-initiated learning occurs when the congruent teacher unconditionally prizes and responds empathically to the world of, to the interests and enthusiasms of, the student. The history of the programmes where these teacher attitudes have been attempted indicates that it is difficult for teachers and administrators to change their attitudes, to share their power and responsibility and to trust the intrinsic motivation of their students to learn. The history of these programmes also indicates that, where teachers and administrators change their attitudes, the student's motivation, learning and behaviour is improved.

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JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU

(1712–78)

Michel Soëtard

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who preferred to take the risk of presenting himself as a 'man of paradoxes' rather than remaining a 'man of prejudices', confronts the historian of educational thought with a considerable paradox. The work that has indisputably had the deepest and most lasting impact on teaching methods, that in the words of Pestalozzi has been a focal point of development in both the Old and the New Worlds in matters of education, was written in total disdain of all education practice, dismissed out of hand by Rousseau in his Preface to *Émile*, mocked when an admiring father presented to him his child whom he had brought up in accordance with the 'new principles' and held up to the greatest ridicule through the abandonment of his own children, figments of the imagination though they might be. Rousseau was not a very successful private tutor. The enigma remains: Why have men like Pestalozzi, Fröbel, Makarenko, Dewey and Freinet, all of them practitioners, embarking upon historic experiments, never lost sight of that 'utopian work' that Émile was intended to be, and why have they regularly returned to it as to a source book? Was it simply to draw consolation from it for their own continual failures and setbacks, or was there rather in Rousseau's work something that continued to inspire them, and still is an inspiration to others?

The philosophy of education

To the question so often asked – 'What was really new in Rousseau's approach to education?' – the replies are legion, and must be critically reviewed. Rousseau, the initiator of a 'Copernican revolution', is said to have made the child the focus of the educational process. To be sure, *Émile* did make a major contribution to this change of focus, but it should be pointed out that, after a long period of indifference, a new interest was beginning to be shown in children anyway; in fact it was even tending to become something of a fashion. Moralists, administrators and doctors were vying with one another in urging mothers to take good

care of their offspring, beginning by breast-feeding them. Rousseau helped to develop this 'feeling for childhood', around which was to grow the concept of the 'nuclear family'. However, he also reacted against the thoughtless over-indulgence of children, whom there was a tendency to see as the centre of the world. While the image of the child as the fruit of sin had to be rejected, there was no need to go to the opposite extreme and regard the child's slightest whim as a divine command.

Much had already been written on education when Rousseau wrote *Émile*. The books, sections of books and articles on the subject were literarily legion. Everyone had to have his say: philosophers such as Helvetius, who, in his work *De l'esprit* [Of the Mind] published in 1758, expressed the view that everything, in man and in the state, depended on education; scholars and utopians like the Abbé de Saint-Pierre, the author of *Projet pour perfectionner l'éducation* [Project to Improve Education]; even poets, who set their educational precepts down in quatrains. Around the same time a plethora of manuals appeared, aimed at introducing children from their very earliest age to the experimental method. For example, in 1732 the *bureau typographique* (typographic desk) was invented, whose purpose was to teach children to read by means of movable letters, which they arranged in appropriate boxes. La Chalotais was preparing to publish his *Essai d'éducation nationale* [Essay on National Education], in which he noted that the public of Europe was working itself into 'a kind of ferment' on the subject.

Scholars have endeavoured to sort out Rousseau's borrowings, both from great precursors and from brilliant contemporaries: from Montaigne, quoted a dozen times in *Émile*, and from Locke, whom he criticizes in such a way as to make it quite clear how much he is indebted to him, and finally Fénelon and Condillac. It is easy to find in the works of these established authors, and in those of others who have made less of a mark – the 'scholary Fleury', author of the best-seller *Traité du choix et de la méthode des études* [Treatise on Study Choices and Methods], published in 1686 and republished in 1753 and 1759, the 'wise Rollin', author of *Traité des études* [Treatise on Studies] – many ideas that herald those of Rousseau. However, it will readily be acknowledged that the author of *Du contrat social* [On a Social Contract] and *Émile* is anything but eclectic. These borrowings are in fact totally recast by a mind that seeks in its thinking to be both systematic and innovatory. In his preface to *Émile*, for example, he observes: 'I write not about others' ideas, but about my own. I do not see as other men see; it is a thing I have long been reproached with.'

Rousseau's stroke of genius, which established the radical originality of his approach, was to have perceived education as the new form of a world that had embarked upon a historical process of dislocation. Where the more active of his contemporaries, themselves also inspired by educational ideals, endeavoured to 'produce education', and where the intellectual luminaries sought, through education, to cast man in a new mould – be it that of the humanist, the good Christian, the gentleman or the good citizen – Rousseau dismissed all techniques

and broke all moulds by proclaiming that the child did not have to become anything other than what he was destined to be: 'Living is the business that I wish to teach him. When he leaves my care he will, I grant, be neither magistrate, nor soldier, nor priest: he will be, primarily, a man.'[1]

The great problem was that the humanist ideal of man had had its day: that of man living in harmony with nature and his fellows, governed by institutions whose authority he did not challenge. Now need had freed itself from nature, engendering in man a passion to possess, an ambition that in its turn fuelled a race for power. Stretching beyond the limits of natural needs, self-interest was spreading, and would soon contaminate the entire social fabric. The institutions whose traditional function it was to contain it must henceforth be regarded as the instruments of a vast process of manipulation designed to entrench the power of the strongest. Knowledge too, to which man had since Plato looked for salvation, was but a fraud: the sciences were born of the desire to protect oneself, the arts of the ambition to shine, philosophy of a will to dominate. The indictment contained in the two *Discours* published in 1750 and 1755 thus strikes at the roots of any attempt to define man's essence in principle, so true it is that any definition pertains to the order of social representation and partakes of that corruption through the self-interest that is a feature of historical societies.

Reading *Du contrat social* we may of course dream of a world in which conflicts of interest have been reconciled and in which the general will has become the appropriate expression of the individual will. But what more can we do than dream, in a world doomed to see its needs left unsatisfied? And woe to whoever might wish to give some historical consistency to that dream: he would run the risk of allowing individual interests, artificially contained by the authoritarian installation of a 'natural society' within this civilized world, to explode, all the more violently, a structure that had become utterly alien to them. Society had been set adrift: 'We are approaching a state of crisis, and the century of revolutions. Who can answer to you for what will then become of you?' The injunction is consequently all the more urgent: 'Suit man's education to man, and not to what is not man. Do you not see that, in working to fashion him solely for one state, you render him useless for any other?'[2]

Must we then go along with the general trend and accept the dislocation of society as inevitable, unscrupulously pursue our own private interests and fling ourselves into the social whirligig? In his wandering and parasitic existence, Rousseau may have given, indeed gave, the impression of being a hedonistic sceptic. But to accept this impression at its true value would be to fail to appreciate his will to serve man, his Calvinistic sense of the need for law, even though that law is bereft of all historical substance, and the role that he assigns to society in developing the qualities that make man what he is. It would also be to forget that Rousseau always had a repugnance for anarchic disorder and an almost obsessive love of order, reflected in his well-groomed appearance, his neat and tidy living quarters, his careful handwriting, his meticulously arranged herbariums. His thinking, systematic in its form, aimed constantly for unity.

The world thus being what it is, what is to be done? Rousseau finally gives us his answer in the work which was initially intended to gather together a number of reflections and which was subsequently expanded into a 'treatise on man's original goodness', namely, *Émile*, which he came to regard as 'the best of his writings, and the most important', the one that gave him the best claim to the gratitude of men and of God: his aim now being to educate. Education was to be the Ark in which humanity, as a social entity, might be saved from the flood. Where man can no longer develop his potential by yielding solely to his natural impetuses, where he runs the risk of another form of alienation by becoming that 'fragmentary unit that cleaves to the denominator, and whose value lies in its relation to the whole, which is the body politic', it would seem that a specific form of action may be implemented that 'stage-manages' the meeting between desire (natural) and the law (established) in such a way that *Homo educandus* makes his own law for himself, makes himself, in the etymological sense of the term, autonomous.

In other words, the idea of education, far from giving rise to a new ideology continued to be rooted in the contradiction-fraught human condition. Rousseau's work, and particularly *Émile*, is in fact a crossroads where the great currents and counter-currents of the age jostle and mingle together, the same currents indeed that have continued to exercise Western thinkers and shape their thinking right from their Platonic-Christian origins. Freedom and necessity, heart and head, the individual and the state, knowledge and experience, each of the terms of the antinomy finds sustenance in *Émile*, published by Rousseau in 1762. Rousseau remains a product of the Enlightenment, but rationalism cohabits openly in him with its sempiternal adversary, the one against which Plato and Descartes had erected their system: the feeling individual asserting its own truth in the authenticity of an existence in harmony with itself. Thus, education was to be for Rousseau the art of managing opposites with an eye to the development of a truly autonomous or self-reliant freedom.

Consider the problem of freedom and authority. From the outset, Rousseau will have no truck with any form of education based on the principle of authority which claims to subordinate the child's will to that of its governor. But should the child then be left to itself? The world being what it is, this would be a fatal error, one that would jeopardize its development. If the feeling individual is to win through to a state of automatic awareness, he needs to meet reality head-on, and it would be utterly pointless to recreate around the child a necessarily artificial paradise in which its desires could be fully met. While appearing to 'follow nature', it would in fact only be following opinion. As the career of *Émile*'s eponymous hero well illustrates, it is on the contrary for freedom and selfhood to be won by transcending the conflict-fraught encounter with the stubborn realities of the world, other people and society. And it is here that the educator regains a decisive role in managing the formative experience, in accompanying the child throughout its trials and ordeals, and, last and most importantly, in providing an essential stimulus when the time comes for it to

endeavour to emerge, regenerated, from the wreckage of its shattered desires. The educator's whole art must be to perform his task in such a way that his own will is never imposed upon that of the child.

Consider further the encounter between knowledge and experience, another contradictory situation. Although it is true that knowledge is the death of the more spontaneous, unpredictable aspects of experience, it none the less remains vital for all who have to cope with this world of self-interest and calculation. Education is therefore essential. However, purely and simply transmitting the knowledge needed for life in society exposes the individual to the danger of alienation. Although science liberates, it may equally well trap the individual in a new form of intellectual conformity. It is therefore important to organize the transmission of knowledge in such a way that the child takes the task upon itself. What is needed is an educational approach that is not a mere process of adapting the 'message' to a 'receiver' but is rooted, independently, in the significance of the knowledge transmitted in regard to the interest that each individual has in receiving it.

It follows that society must henceforth create within itself an educational environment that fosters, through action suitably geared to the goal aimed at, each individual's access to freedom and selfhood. One thinks of the school. But Rousseau's purpose goes beyond the limits of an institution, whether it be the school or the family or, in a general manner, the social institution, to seek to identify a form of action that enables the individual to become free, despite the mutilation that society inflicts upon individual sensitivity.

Misunderstandings

It is understandable that this style of argumentation, so skilfully contrasted and so subtly dialectical, should have given rise to all kinds of misunderstanding.

First, there are those who insist on regarding *Émile* as a practical treatise on education. But it is a work of fiction, in which educational thinking is presented or acted out in the persons of Émile, who lacks a clearly defined character, and a governor who has neither name nor personal background, who undergo a series of experiences that appear to have been concocted purely in order to illustrate a particular approach. In the third of the *Dialogues*, in which he adopts the persona of 'judge of Jean-Jacques', Rousseau finally acknowledges that his *Émile*, a book 'read by so many, understood by so few, and so ill appreciated' was in the final analysis merely a 'treatise on man's original goodness, intended to show how vice and error, so alien to his constitution, work their way in from outside and imperceptibly debase him.'[3] Whereas the two *Discours* had effected a total deconstruction of the human universe, *Émile* would attempt to reconstruct it, albeit in the manner of a 'metaphysics of education' that, as Rousseau warned in his Preface, aimed solely at identifying principles, openly pooh-poohing any possible applications.

It may even be feared that putting the precepts of *Émile* into practice, scrupulously and to the letter, would lead the educator to catastrophe. Pestalozzi was to have the painful proof of this in educating his son Jakob. The four-year-old boy was usually left to follow his natural impulses, but his father made a point, regularly and without explanation, of crushing his egocentric sensibility in the hope that a sense of the law would be born in the child of this collision of wills. What this actually produced was a child that no longer understood what sort of a father he was dealing with: a father who was sometimes liberal in the extreme, at other times an intolerable tyrant. Jakob's nervous constitution, by nature already vulnerable, was to suffer irreparable damage.[4]

Then there are those who, unable to accommodate Rousseau's antinomies, tug him in the direction that best suits them, in accordance with their own presuppositions or with the social representation of a given epoch. This has led to *Émile* being generally regarded – both by those who had a bone to pick with the French Revolution (in which Rousseau found himself compromised very much against his will) and by those who pined for a return of the educational revolution – as a Bible as far as the 'pedagogics of freedom' were concerned, calling for the liberation and non-interference in the development of the child. To be sure, Rousseau builds deliberately on the principle of freedom. Any attitude that might subordinate Émile's will to that of another is systematically rejected. However, his will is none the less educated through continuous and energetic action against that 'love of self' that constitutes its root. It is indeed intended that Émile should commit himself to obeying a law, and that law cannot fall from the heavens, and even less can it be the mere reflection of his own interests. It is for him to fashion it in the course of his conflict-fraught encounters with his fellows. The atmosphere of the book is indeed in no way paradisiacal, and Émile does not gambol about as he pleases in some idyllic countryside: the episodes that follow one another are generally fraught with drama.

Rousseau's plea to observe and to get to know the child has also been regularly seized upon in order to reduce his project to a psychological approach grafted onto education. This is to overlook the fact that his psychology is highly approximate, and far from scientific in the sense in which this is understood by modern experimentalists (Rousseau was, nevertheless, fascinated by scientific experiments!). The concepts he uses (passion, self-interest, desire, etc.) remain shrouded in ambiguity. Psychologists and psychoanalysts would have every reason to sneer at such amateurishness were it not for the fact that Rousseau's purpose lies elsewhere. To be sure, it is important for him that the educator should be well acquainted with the subject (i.e. the child) who is to be educated, and the then emergent human sciences were able to make a useful contribution to that investigation. However, the subject of education remains none the less for him a subject, that is a free being, resistant to any attempt to determine in principle what he is and what he is capable of becoming: 'We do not know what our nature permits us to be.'

While psychology, like any other human science, predicates its purposes and its investigations on the premise of a nature that is already constituted – and which will indeed be interpreted from as many standpoints as there are sciences – teaching focuses on a nature that is wholly open to freedom's infinite potentialities.

The misunderstanding is no less great on the part of educationists, who have regularly mistaken the presentation in fictional form of a principle of action for a directive to be applied as such. When Rousseau attacks books and delays Émile's access to reading to an extreme degree, this in no way means that he rejects books, any more than the *Discours sur les sciences et les arts* [Essay on Science and Art] is aimed at destroying culture. What Rousseau really wishes to indicate thereby is that to introduce children prematurely to 'predigested' texts, accepted judgements and abstractions that mean nothing to them is to imprison them in a prefabricated world in which they think entirely and continuously through others. While the concept, the structured sentence, the printed text remain the instruments pre-eminently suited to ensuring man's intellectual mastery over the world, it is nevertheless essential that he should be given the means to accede thereto by himself. This is the whole purpose of a pedagogical approach to reading. Reading is not an end in itself; it must come at the right moment, which may indeed vary enormously from one child to another, in the process of intellectual reappropriation of the world. It is indeed this movement or impetus that gives its meaning to reading, it is to the extent that it is harnessed at source and followed in its development that the desire to read is created in the child.

Another subject of controversy is Sophie's education, and the way in which the egalitarian philosopher appears to abandon his principle as soon as he finds himself dealing with a member of the opposite sex. Certain statements in Book V of *Émile* are indeed calculated to make feminists froth at the mouth: 'woman is made specially to please man', she must be educated in accordance with the duties of her sex, must refrain from seeking truths of an abstract or speculative nature and confine herself to household management and domestic duties. If Rousseau's thinking here is hardly very bold, this is no doubt to be largely attributed to his pathological quest for the woman who would be his refuge in a world that had become completely alien to him. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to overlook those other passages in Book V where Rousseau denounces the trap that egalitarianism represented for women in their claim to power-sharing. With their predominantly sensitive, practical nature, women do indeed possess a talent that puts them on an equal footing with their partners:

> Woman's own violence lies in her charms. . . . This specific adroitness given to her sex is very equitable compensation for what she lacks in strength; without which woman would not be man's companion, but his slave. It is thanks to this superiority of talent that she maintains herself as his equal, and that she governs him by obeying him. . . . Suppose you decided to bring women up like men; men would willingly consent. The more women

sought to resemble them, the less they would govern them, and it is then that men would truly be the masters.[5]

This debate leads us to clarify Rousseau's conception of the principle of equality, as it is established in the 1755 *Discours* and as it is put into practice in the educational blueprint that *Émile* represents. Let us not lose sight of the fact that the state of reference remains that 'state of nature' evoked in the first part of the *Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité* [Essay on the Origin of Inequality], characterized by a complete inequality of forces, each individual being entirely free to develop on his or her own in a world without barriers. Once they have entered the social arena, these forces must come to terms with one another, eventually handing over their power to a higher authority capable of arbitrating conflicts. But this power has itself entered an era of generalized contestation that unleashes the natural forces once again. It is in this context that education is called upon to accomplish its mission: it endeavours at one and the same time the management of opposites, being the name of the game to foster the social integration of natural desires within a universe threatened by violence, and to promote the self-directed liberation of those desires within the context of the social dissatisfaction that is a feature of our modern societies. In other words, it is the school's task less to ensure equality through all-out integration than to provide everyone with the means of securing his or her freedom in a context of active responsibility and solidarity.[6]

It is important therefore to look twice before honouring Rousseau as the father of 'republican education'. Even at the time of the French Revolution, those responsible for planning public instruction experienced the greatest difficulty, once they had paid the obligatory tribute to Rousseau, in incorporating in their schemes the approach outlined in *Émile*, which was regarded rather as a form of private education. They accordingly went to the lengths of deducing from a strictly political interpretation of *Du contrat social* the necessity of a type of civic education devised for the sole purpose of ensuring integration into the new citizenship, attributing the embarassing statements contained in *Émile* to its author's exacerbated subjectivity. The posthumous publication of the manuscript of *Considérations sur le gouvernement de Pologne* [Thoughts on the Governing of Poland], in which Rousseau advocates setting up a national education system, occurred just at the right moment to bolster the socio-centric interpretation.

The drawback of this political interpretation is that it rather hastily overlooks certain provocative statements that open and close *Émile*:

> Public institutions no longer exist, and can no longer exist; because where there is no longer a fatherland, there can no longer be citizens. These two terms, fatherland and citizen, must be eliminated from modern languages [Book I].
>
> 'Tis in vain that we aspire to freedom under the protection of the law. Law! Where is there law, and where is it respected? What you have seen reigning everywhere under that guise is but men's private interests and passions [Book V].

This makes it clear that Rousseau's scepticism vis-à-vis all forms of government had remained undiminished since the scathing analyses contained in the two *Discours*. The corruption of institutions being what it is, *Du contrat social* – that is, the social contract outlined in that work – remains a dream, a necessary dream, to be sure, which gives focus to political action, but a dream none the less, one that we must be careful not to transform into reality.

For human reality is henceforth essentially an educative process. It calls for the rebuilding of human society on the basis of the interest each individual finds therein, beginning with the adolescent who has the advantage of being involved from the inception of this process. And politics, itself caught up in a contradiction leading nowhere, can thus receive a new meaning from education.

In saying this, we are merely re-establishing the proper balance between *Émile* and *Du contrat social*, such as Rousseau himself envisaged it. He did in fact attach far more importance to his treatise on education than to his political tract, which was the digest of a vast work on political institutions which he never managed to complete. Although 'the two together make a complete whole', as he wrote to a correspondent, it remained understood that *Du contrat social* 'must be taken as a sort of appendix' to the treatise on education.[7] And it is a fact that the substance of *Du contrat social* is recapitulated in Book V of *Émile*, albeit in the form of 'propositions and questions' which are to be discussed and which will be converted into principles 'only once they have been adequately proved or solved'.[8] It is here that politics' roots in the educational sphere become palpable.

Of all the misunderstandings that have bedevilled the interpretation of *Émile*, the political misunderstanding has undoubtedly had the most serious consequences. It barred access to the original anthropological approach to the idea of education that Rousseau had succeeded in formulating, and that provided human action with a new basis of meaning. This 'hi-jacking' operation can be explained by the anxiety of our modern societies, products as they are of the great upheaval of the French Revolution, to regain at all costs a measure of stability. It is to be hoped that, the revolutionary idea having spent its strength, a reasonable reappraisal may restore to education all its chances of success.

A posterity fraught with contradictions

Referring to 'Rousseau and his posterity eternally at variance with itself', an excellent analyst of contemporary educational thinking has written:

> It is understandable that hasty readers, educationalists little concerned to probe Rousseau's philosophical ideas so as to better grasp his theories on education, should have failed to appreciate the finely balanced nature of his thought. Émile was misinterpreted even in the eighteenth century, and today it is still not being read correctly.[9]

We fully concur with this judgement.

The fact remains that Rousseau would be quite prepared to accept responsibility for the contradictions of his heirs and inheritors. Thus the advocates of

adult non-intervention and child self-determination (the school communities in Hamburg, A. S. Neill at Summerhill), and those who are willing to confine themselves to 'facilitating' the free development of the child's natural desire to learn (Rogers and non-directivity) have been able to legitimize their approaches by reference to the principle of 'negative education', according to which the teacher is expected 'by doing nothing, to do everything' and to 'give the child the desire to learn' by turning each and every method to account. However, such educationists pay little heed to the ability of social institutions to denature desire. As Georges Snyders quite properly points out, our society being what it is,

> it would be idle to wish to entrust a child to its own spontaneous impulses, for what would be expressed in that child would never be the promptings of nature but the whole congeries of uncriticized, uncorrected influences that cloak those promptings.

He then quotes this passage from Book III of *Émile*:

> A man who wished to regard himself as an isolated being, attached to absolutely nothing and quite self-sufficient, could not help but be wretched.[10]

The 'liberators of natural desire' were indeed rapidly obliged by reality to make endless compromises with those social institutions that they claimed to be able to do without.

The educator cannot therefore escape his responsibilities in the world as it is. Against all opposition, he must accomplish his mission of educating, albeit in such a way that 'your pupil always believes himself to be the master, whereas it is always you who are'.[11] The educator's concern must be to take charge of the child's desires while at the same time allowing him his freedom, indeed, forcing it upon him. To ensure that this second requirement is met, recourse will be had to an educational project that is both explicit and explained to the child, whereby instruction will be mediated through the 'necessity of things', beyond reach of man's will. The only problem is that such a project can be established only on the basis of a presupposition that itself refers to a point of view predicated on man and on what man must be. It is here that, with *Émile* as their starting-point, the major currents begin to emerge that will constitute the history of the modern pedagogical movement, whose development was foreshadowed by Pestalozzi with his focus on three main axes designated by the triad – heart, head, hand.

Rousseau opened the doors of humanity to the heart – to sensibility, sentiment and passion – demanding that it should be placed on an equal footing with reason. Into this breach plunge a whole host of educators determined to base their action on the primacy of love, trust and the unity of life: from Fröbel to Korczak, by way of all those experiments that sought to create a 'living area' for and around the child, right up to our modern educationists, much concerned with communication, eagerly seeking identity in the transparency of relationships. But what they all forget is that the character who probably best embodies Rousseau's ideal of the educator Julie in *La nouvelle Héloïse*, while she may be prone to (pre-)Romantic effusions, does none the less maintain a constant

detachment from her entourage, and in particular from her children. In the end she reveals herself to be a woman more of duty than of love. To say nothing of the coldness and apparent indifference of the governor: the feelings that bind Émile to his mentor are a mixture of affection and a form of fear, love being weighed down by esteem.

Indeed, for the governor, everything appears to be resolved in a loftier and more arithmetical vision of things. Education seen from this angle is first and foremost a matter of intelligence, a form of intelligence able essentially to grasp the laws that govern the development of human nature, and thereby to anticipate the patterns of that development. It is the starting-point for that line of educationists who base their approach on a positive assessment of the factors determining human development, be they bio-psychological (Decroly, Montessori), psychological (from Herbart to Piaget) or sociological (Spencer, Durkheim, *Emanzipationspädagogik*). It is in fact the meeting-point of several approaches, each of which may draw its legitimacy from Rousseau's work: the law of vital interests coexists peacefully with the genetic approach, against a background of social criticism that never flags. Indeed, ever since the *Discours sur les sciences et les arts* we have known what to think of these branches of social science and their respective claims each to take the measure of human nature in its totality.

Another major current was to draw its inspiration from the fact that Émile is always placed in a situation where he is required to be active, that he is regularly involved in practical action on which he is led to reflect on experience, and that the obligation imposed upon him to have a manual job locates him within the sphere of socially useful work: education was to be essentially a practical process. This current was to develop 'activity methods' – such as those aimed at making the child a technician in charge of its own knowledge (Freinet) or the training-through-work experiments (Dewey, Makarenko) – to the point of seeking to harness modern technologies for the purpose of transforming teachers' attitudes and practices. The fact remains that Rousseau's entire work proclaims that if the child is indeed to achieve self-realization in and through action, such a praxis can be meaningful only in the context of a higher understanding that does not pertain to the sphere of action. Here again, the aim is as always to understand what is at stake in the act of educating.

Educating the heart, educating the head, educating the hand: Rousseau assumes full responsibility for the contradictions with which his posterity is fraught. But he is also there when, in the aftermath of their historical failure, these eager advocates of the affective relationship, of discursive intelligence and of productive action, invariably ask the question: Has education any chance of making headway in this historical world in which their action has finally bogged down? When they begin to despair, as Pestalozzi did in his Neuhof retreat, it is to *Émile* that they turn, it is always that 'dream book' that they avidly reread, as though it had not yielded all its secrets, as though it remained, to quote the expression used by Pestalozzi towards the close of an existence so rich in experience, a 'sealed book'.

What then is the book's essential secret? Perhaps it is quite simply that man – and first and foremost *Homo educandus* – must ever transcend the reach of what I may or can think of him in scientific, philosophical or political terms. That he is essentially free, and that all efforts to love him, understand him, involve him, which are exerted in disregard of this freedom are, ultimately, doomed to failure. If education is really an affair of the heart, there is an ever-present risk of smothering the child with affection. It then becomes important for love to be kept within bounds by an attitude of faith in what nature truly intends for the other, in this case the child. If education is really a matter of gaining a positive understanding of the subject to be educated and of the factors by which it is determined, then the risk of treating that subject as the mere product of those determinants is indeed considerable. It is then vital to keep an eye on the limit beyond which such positive knowledge overwhelms man's ability to direct his own nature. If education is really a matter of action, then there is a danger of making it a mere matter of technical production. It is then crucial constantly to resituate the techniques involved within the context of self-reliant freedom.

Education will then become, in the spirit of *Émile*, less a project to be integrated into historical reality than a form to be given to pedagogical action in itself, taking account of what it is that is sought through education and the checks and balances that it brings into play. This would not be the least of the paradoxes of Rousseau's work: the educational dreamer, because he pursued his dream to its logical conclusion, would prove in the final analysis to be a master of the practical art of teaching.

That is no doubt why Rousseau was able to see the idea of education as the keystone of our modernity, while we ourselves persist in consigning it to the scrap-heap of projects that have reached stalemate. And that is why Rousseau still stands before us and still has something to say to us as we grapple with the major challenges of our age.

We need only consider, for example, the cultural confrontations that are increasingly stretching the fabric of nations and that threaten to rend them irreparably asunder. Rousseau, himself torn between two worlds, the republican, Calvinist and particularist world of Geneva and that of the homeland of his choice, monarchist and Catholic, universalist, pronounced in his two *Discours* a pitiless diagnosis of the dislocation of the cultural universes whose stability had seemed guaranteed for all eternity. Culture, far from floating in some ideal firmament, remains tied to the vital interests of those who support it, and in those who possess it nurtures a sense of domination. Are not the sciences born of the need to seek protection, the arts of the desire to shine, and philosophy of the urge to dominate? It is for the more cultured and ablest citizens to make skilful use of that jewel in culture's crown: speech – and the power of speech! It is with this dawning awareness that the 'crisis of culture' begins.

Historically constituted states cannot be expected to overcome a crisis in which they are themselves caught up. There is therefore a need for a specific social environment in which can be freely developed a process of reconstruction

of culture that transcends its newly recovered diversity, in which its form, universal despite all challenges, can receive a new substance that is more in keeping with the interests of its constituents – an educational environment. But here again, it will be less a question of an institution, delivered up to man's folly and contradictions, than the effect of a course of educational action designed to foster in everyone, in a context that transcends the social confrontation of cultures, the capacity to discover and reappropriate the values that underlie those cultures. When in Book V of *Émile* its eponymous hero returns from his European travels, in the course of which he has taken the full measure of the historical diversity of its peoples and the relative nature of their social constitutions, he concludes by acknowledging that, while man owes much to the homeland that bore him and the culture that nurtured him, he cannot expect from them more than they can give him within the historical limits assigned to them. And it is ultimately in a most Socratic manner, in his innermost self, in his heart of hearts as a free man, that he will be called upon to discover the well-spring of the necessary cultural regeneration.

Through his analysis of the contradictions by which societies continue to be rent, Rousseau has thus opened for us the doors of modernity, and pointed out the path to be followed: that of man's education and training. If he did not himself embark upon this path, that is because, having dismissed established practice, he refused to be content to 'follow the right path halfway'. What mattered to him, as he explained once again in the Preface to *Émile*, was that the type of education proposed should be 'fitting for man and well suited to the human heart'.

Can education still be said to be so in this final decade of the twentieth century? It is a readily observable fact that the contradictions have become more radical. Never have the claims of science and technology been so great, but never has their authority been so challenged. Never has the desire to communicate become so deeply embedded, at a time when so many resources are deployed in order to satisfy it. Never, doubtless, has there been so much talk of action, but never has there been such an awareness of the incoherences of praxis. What all this ultimately testifies to is a great conceptual vulnerability, manifest in particular in educational thinking, torn between current fads and fashions. Were Rousseau to help us to rebuild the Idea of education, we should indeed have reason, historically, to be grateful to him.

Notes

1. *Œuvres complètes* [Complete Works], Vol. 4, p. 252, Paris, Gallimard/Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1969.
2. Ibid., p. 468.
3. Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 934.
4. See Michel Soëtard, *Pestalozzi ou la naissance de l'éducateur* [Pestalozzi or the Birth of the Educator], pp. 84 et seq., pp. 204 et seq., Berne, P. Lang, 1981.

5. *Œuvres complètes*, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 701.
6. An excellent illustration of this form of action is presented in the *Lettre de Stans* published by Pestalozzi in 1799. Generally speaking, Pestalozzi's approach clearly reflects, throughout a life's work devoted to practical issues, the evolution of Rousseau's educational project, from a literal application of that project to an understanding of its spirit (see Michel Soëtard, *Rousseau*, pp. 149-50, Geneva, Editions Coeckelberghe, 1988).
7. T. Dufour (ed.), *Correspondance générale de J.-J. Rousseau* [General Correspondence of J.-J. Rousseau], Vol. 7, p. 233, Paris, P. P. Plan, 1924-34.
8. *Œuvres complètes*, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 837 et seq.
9. J. Ulmann, Introduction, *La pensée éducative contemporaine* [Modern Educational Thought], Paris, Vrin, 1982.
10. G. Snyders, *La pédagogie en France aux XVII^e^ et XVIII^e^ siècles* [Education in France in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries], Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1965.
11. *Œuvres complètes*, op cit., Vol. 4, p. 362.

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An international bibliography of writings on *Émile* in the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries has been compiled:

Tanguy L'Aminot, F.; Kisaki, K. *Bibliographie mondiale des écrits relatifs à J.-J. Rousseau.* Vol. 1: *Emile ou de l'éducation* [World Bibliography of Writings on J.-J. Rousseau. Vol. 1: Emile or about Education]. Montmerency, France, Musée J.-J. Rousseau, 1989.

Among works which study the entirety of Rousseau's work, particularly *Emile*, mention may be made of:

Besse, G. *Rousseau, l'apprentissage de l'humanité* [Rousseau: Humanity's Apprenticeship]. Paris, Messidor-Editions sociales, 1988.

Burgelin, P. *La philosophie de l'existence de J.-J. Rousseau* [J.-J. Rousseau's Philosophy of Existence]. Paris, Slatkine, 1973.

Château, J. *Rousseau et sa philosophie de l'éducation* [Rousseau and His Educational Philosophy]. 1969.

Derathe, R. *Le rationalisme de J.-J. Rousseau* [The Rationalism of J.-J. Rousseau]. Paris, Slatkine, 1948.

Eigeldinger, M. *Jean-Jacques Rousseau et la réalité de l'imaginaire* [Jean-Jacques Rousseau and the Reality of the Conceivable]. Boudry, Switzerland, La Baconnière, 1962.

Flores d'Arcais, G. *Il problema pedagogico nell'Emilio* [The Educational Problem of 'Emile']. 1972.

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Jouvenet, L. P. *Rousseau, pédagogie et politique* [Rousseau: Education and Politics]. Toulouse, Privat, 1984.
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Soëtard, M. *Rousseau*. Geneva, Editions Coeckelberghe (French edition); Zurich, Verlagshaus (German edition), 1988.
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TORSTEN RUDENSCHÖLD

(1798–1859)

Gunnar Richardson

Swedish society

The Swedish educator and social reformer Torsten Rudenschöld was working in a country which, although situated on the periphery of the Continent of Europe, was well integrated into the mainstream of European civilization. During the seventeenth century, Sweden had been a great European power with extensive territorial possessions around the Baltic Sea, but had subsequently been demoted to a nation of second or third rank.

At one point during Rudenschöld's childhood – in the year 1809 – Sweden was faced with two traumatic events. Firstly, after a war with Russia, the loss of Finland, which had been a part of Sweden, and secondly a political revolution, resulting in the dethronement of the king and the ending of the royal autocracy. A constitution granting greater power to the Parliament was founded. One of Napoleon's field-marshals, Jean-Baptiste Bernadotte, was later on elected new successor to the throne. This fact demonstrates the intimate cultural and political relations with France, as well as the hopes set on foreign policy which were prevalent at this time in Sweden. It is somewhat the irony of history that it was a king who never learned to speak Swedish who proclaimed the first state regulation on elementary schools in this country.

At that time, Sweden was a large, sparsely populated country. In the middle of the nineteenth century there were just over 3 million inhabitants. About 90% of them lived in the countryside and were occupied with farming. Sweden was not, however, a static society: agriculture was passing through a relatively rapid process of modernization; a new credit system with local banks was being established; a great canal-building enterprise ('Göta kanal') was carried out; the press, with many local newspapers and small magazines, expanded fast – from about 20 in 1800 to about 120 in 1840; local self-government was strengthened and political activity increased. All of these changes meant that the circumstances were created for the holding of public debates. In ethnic, linguistic and religious

respects Sweden was a remarkably homogeneous society. The Swedish church was a Lutheran state church. Swedish subjects were not yet permitted to leave the church, but small groups of dissidents had sprung up in the middle of the eighteenth century. The most serious problems in Swedish society were caused by the very rapid growth of the population. The total population increased by about 50 % during the first half of the nineteenth century. This fact led to unemployment and underemployment, and great poverty, above all among the landless groups in the countryside. In the subsequent discussions about a common elementary school, the social problems, generated by the growth of a rural proletariat, played an important role.

It was in a society like this that Torsten Rudenschöld fulfilled his life's work in the field of education. In order to understand his mission it is necessary to know something about the educational milieu and the educational problems of that time.

The school system

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Swedish school system consisted of two separate parts: a state secondary school system which had been worked out in the seventeenth century; and elementary schools of very variable quality established and managed by local authorities and private persons. Education taking place in the children's homes can also be divided into two categories: instruction of good quality by private tutors; and very elementary teaching in reading from books and the catechism under the guidance of persons with rudimentary knowledge. Although the ability to read was relatively widespread, this ability was, in most cases, probably restricted to Luther's Catechism or other well-known texts. Thanks to the examination records from parish catechetical meetings, it is possible to estimate the rate of reading ability – in the sense described above – of great parts of the Swedish population during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

During the 1820s and 1830s, a lively debate was carried on over the question of the extent to which the state should be responsible for the schooling of the general public. In accordance with the strongly established conservative ideology, the state would be responsible only for the training of the future so-called 'officials in the state service'. Other people – farmers, craftsmen and businessmen – merely served their own interests and not those of the general public. For that reason these groups would be responsible for the education of their own children. Advocates of a liberal ideology were of another opinion on this matter: the state had to take responsibility for the basic education of the whole population. 'The elementary school must be admitted as one of the most important concerns of the state', one of the most prominent representatives of the liberal ideology – the historian and poet Erik Gustaf Geijer – declared at the end of the 1830s.

Interest in founding new elementary schools – above all in the towns – had been strongly stimulated by a new and, what seemed to be, revolutionary method of education recently introduced to Sweden, namely the method of mutual education or the monitorial system invented in England by Andrew Bell and Joseph Lancaster. The method implied that older and more advanced pupils (monitors) taught groups of younger schoolfellows with the help of, for instance, boards that could be hung up. In this way the same teacher could supervise the education of hundreds of children. The endeavours to spread the British monitorial models in Sweden were given a firm foundation in *Sällskapet för Vexelundervisningens befrämjande* (The Society for the Encouragement of Monitorial Education), set up in 1822. The aim of this society was, above all, to advance the education and upbringing of the rural poor. In order to realize this mission, the society took the decision to set up a teacher-training school in Stockholm. A decisive event in Torsten Rudenschöld's life occurred in 1842, when the first regulation on the elementary school in Sweden was adopted by parliament. This decision involved general compulsory education for all children (but not compulsory school attendance, since the children could also acquire the necessary knowledge and skills through instruction at home), which meant that parishes were forced to set up schools and that the state authorities assumed responsibility for the training of teachers.

The organization of the elementary school was not specified to any great extent in regulations and the directives about the curriculum were very vague. There was some uncertainty as to whether the children should be able to read before starting school or not. The recommended teaching method was the monitorial one. This was also the method that would be taught in the teacher training colleges.

The regulation of 1842 which introduced the elementary school was certainly of great importance, but the practical problems were so numerous and so serious that it was to be a long time before the project could be realized. Sweden was a poor country and there was a widespread lack of school buildings and qualified teachers. The sparse population constituted a special problem and led to long journeys to school for many children. It also soon became evident that the high expectations regarding the effectiveness of the Lancaster method were quite unrealistic.

These were the two main problems that engaged Rudenschöld in his work as organizer of the elementary school.

Torsten Rudenschöld's career

Rudenschöld belonged to the high nobility in Sweden. He was a count. His grandfather had been a cabinet minister and his father was a lieutenant-colonel and a chamberlain to the king. He was born in 1798 and was brought up on two separate country estates (Riseberga in Närke, and Gudhammar in Västergötland). Torsten Rudenschöld was taught in his home by a private tutor

who in 1811 followed him and his elder brother to Uppsala. Since he was qualified for university entrance, he studied at the University of Uppsala for some years. His studies did not lead to an academic degree, but the years spent in Uppsala were subsequently to prove of great importance for him. He came into contact with new philosophical and literary currents that were characterized by a reaction against the rationalism and the utilitarianism of the Age of Enlightenment, and also with the national movements which were prevalent in Sweden after the foreign policy debacle of 1809. He was strongly influenced by young friends belonging to a romantic and nationalistic literature club (*Manhemsförbundet*).

Rudenschöld left Uppsala in 1816 and joined the armed forces. He became a commissioned officer in the Skaraborgs Regiment, but resigned from the service in 1824 when he inherited his father's agricultural estate. Because of financial difficulties and the need to increase his income, he gave private tuition to boys in his home. In that way he came into contact with the work which, later on, would come to dominate his life completely.

In 1830 Rudenschöld abandoned the farming enterprise for a post as managing director of an ironworks owned by some of his relatives. Unlike other idealists and social reformers from the upper classes, he saw with his own eyes the arduous conditions of the workers' lives. He saw their penury, their economic difficulties and tried to bring about improvements in various ways. This, however, led to conflicts with the owners of the company and he was forced to leave this job in 1833.

With no means to support himself and his family and nowhere to live, he was invited to settle down close to his elder brother's home at Läckö Palace in Västergötland. There he started a private boarding school for his brother's children and some other children. As his school did not generate enough income, he bought, with the help of his brother and some friends, a small country estate. This affair, however, also turned into a fiasco. He left the estate and moved to Läckö Palace in 1843, where he started a new school. This school was, first and foremost, intended for the children of the permanent staff of Läckö Palace and its environs.

He also started participating in the local government of the district. Up to that time, Rudenschöld had been active in the military, industrial and agrarian fields, and had been less than successful in at least the latter two. When, in 1843, motivated chiefly by economic necessity, he took an active part in the full-time teaching at an elementary school, it occurred at a strategically suitable time for him.

According to the state regulation of 1842, it was now the duty for all parishes in the country to organize elementary school education. The regulations were so vague that a great deal of unregulated experimental work took place.

In this situation there was a need for persons who could give assistance in organizing the school system at the local level and who could also take part in the necessary debate on the central issues. Rudenschöld, as it happened, devoted

the rest of his life – as an elementary school-teacher, a school organizer, an author, a state inspector and as a member of the Swedish Parliament – to the improvement of the Swedish elementary school. In 1849 he was commissioned by the government to travel around the country to supervise the development of the elementary school. Later on, he received the same commission from parliament. He played an important role in the political and educational reform of the school during the parliamentary session in 1856-58.

He died in Uppsala in 1859.

A social utopia

Alongside his work as a teacher, Rudenschöld's achievements in the educational field consisted of a new, radical theory on society, organizational work during the development of elementary schools at the local as well as the central level, and, finally, several publications on political and educational issues concerning the school. His philosophical ideas about social problems were presented in two books published in 1845 and 1846: *Tankar om ståndscirkulation* [Thoughts about the Mobility of Persons between Social Classes] and *Tankar om ståndscirkulationens verkställighet* [Thoughts about the Realization of the Mobility of Persons between Social Classes]. It is difficult to find an exact English term for what he called *ståndscirkulation*, but what he means is social mobility, the movement of persons from one social class to another.

He thought that the origin of social problems lay in the deep gaps between the different estates or 'classes' in society. Rudenschöld saw these problems first of all from a religious point of view:

> The form in which a true Christian brotherliness will be able to rise up and work, not only in exceptional cases but as a common spirit making all people happy, is in social mobility, which in its thorough application will abolish all un-Christian oppression between individuals, as well as rejecting un-Christian enviousness between members in different positions and in different capacities in the social structure. The health and joyful well-being of this structure, for all as well as for each individual, is ultimately due to the fact that every single member, high or low, without prejudices, unpretentiously and clearly apprehends his position and fulfils his mission in life, not under compulsion but with unselfish willingness in that position which a wise and tender Providence, through the natural gifts, has granted him (*Tankar om ståndscirkulationens verkställighet*, p. 9 ff.).

The purpose of 'social mobility' was the establishment of good relations between peoples who, due to different circumstances, were divided into separate classes in society. He did not, however, recommend levelling these differences but suggested instead that there should be better opportunities to move from one class to another, since the differences between the separate individuals are founded on nature. A talented peasant boy should, for instance, have a chance to study and be a member of a higher estate, but there should also be a movement in the opposite direction. 'The social changes in society will', he said, 'awaken and

maintain a healthy motion as natural and even as necessary as the circulation of the blood in the human body' (*Tankar om ståndscirkulation*, p. 23).

What was fundamentally new – and highly controversial – in Rudenschöld's plan for more social mobility was the strong accent on the need for downward movement. He proclaimed vigorously that many children in the highest social classes had to accept jobs as workers. He was very critical of his own class and its mode of life. His book is, in reality, to be seen as a way of confronting the dominant class in society, as a kind of criticism of civilization. As the dominant class had gradually grown in size, many quite unnecessary offices had been set up in the government. In spite of this fact, many 'gentlemen' were nevertheless more or less out of work. They lived a highly agreeable, frivolous and luxurious life. Instead of fulfilling a responsible mission to society – to be 'the leaders of the general public in enlightenment and nobleness' – on the contrary, they selfishly abused their possessive influence over the masses and, at the latter's expense, guaranteed for themselves total liberty from work and indulgence in the enjoyments of life.

Society was moreover characterized by a lack of contact between different social classes. In Rudenschöld's social utopia, the human relationships were characterized by mutual understanding, love and harmony.

Another reason for increased social mobility was that all the children of the upper classes did not possess the necessary gifts for intellectual work. Rudenschöld was of the opinion that natural intellectual aptitudes were fairly equally divided among the different social classes.

These ideas about society and human nature constituted the background of Rudenschöld's educational programme for equality. The real problem was an unwillingness by upper-class children – and their parents – to agree to do manual work and, particularly, to be trained for such jobs. According to Rudenschöld, this problem could only be solved through a different type of education.

In the school system, as presented by Rudenschöld, the first, basic school should be common for children from all social classes. He was the first educationist or politician in Sweden to recommend what later on was to be called 'the common basic school' – or the comprehensive school programme – which to a great extent has been typical of Swedish educational politics ever since. An important element in the curriculum would be manual labour. This was necessary to prepare the children from upper-class families for a future manual job.

Another important purpose was to promote a more simple and natural life among people from this class. The need to achieve a more modest and unpretentious mode of life was so urgent for Rudenschöld that he recommended the setting up of special 'clubs for simplicity' and so-called 'social mobility camps' (*ståndscirkulationskolonier*). Boys from upper-class families would work on farms and live under modest conditions.

Another important element in Rudenschöld's social utopia was a Christian idealism and perhaps a somewhat naive hope of better relations between the different social classes in society. These dreams of reconciliation and harmony in

society were further strengthened under the impact of the February Revolution in 1848, which in Sweden – and particularly in Stockholm – led to scenes of tumultuous violence. In a publication from 1850 – *Tankar om vår tids samhällsfrågor* [Thoughts about the Social Problems of Our Time] – he conveyed an affectionate prayer of entreaty to the people of Sweden to 'take one another's hands in mutual Christian reconciliation'.

Rudenschöld's ideas about social mobility attracted great attention. In conservative circles many looked upon him as a popular agitator, while the people in general saw him as an unrealistic idealist and visionary, an eccentric and unpractical dreamer. Among his peers in the nobility many spoke scornfully about 'the mad count and his mad book'. However, his practical work with the elementary school was respected and probably also resulted in a greater understanding of his ideas about social mobility. The continuing development of the community – in Sweden as well as in other countries – also contributed to this fact.

It is true that the immediate impact of Rudenschöld's publications was not very great but, in the long run, his ideas have certainly had some effect. Enrolment into higher education and universities in Sweden has been broader and more democratic than in many other countries on the European Continent; there has accordingly been a greater number of students from farming backgrounds studying at universities. It seems probable that, in this case, his ideas about social mobility have had some effect.

After this presentation of Rudenschöld's ideas about social mobility, it is also of interest to search for an explanation. From where did the ideas come? What influences? As a starting point, it is natural to take note of the impressions of the romantic and national movements encountered in his younger days. In the 1820s, Rudenschöld came into contact with an innovatory group of young writers and students. Much has subsequently been written about this experiment in the history of Swedish literature. In fact, a romantic group of young people left Stockholm in order to settle in a small rural village and live in a very simple way. Dreams of an idealistic rustic life based on Christian solidarity was a part of the spirit of the time. In the years around 1840, widespread rural poverty and the social problems caused by it were the subject of intense interest. These matters were examined by a committee for social welfare and were discussed in parliament. Several of the leading authors of the day dealt with the problem of poverty and social welfare, among others Carl Jonas Love Almquist, Fredrika Bremer and Erik Gustaf Geijer.

There are probably other influences from the international debate. Thus, these concepts remind us of Rousseau's ideas about a simple and natural life, even if Rudenschöld did not explicitly refer to him. Similarities to the French utopian Saint-Simon have also been pointed out, but Rudenschöld defended himself against suspicions of the 'Jacobinian and Simonian development of society' by referring to what he called 'the absurdity of class levelling'. Some similarities to another French utopian – Charles Fourier – have also been mentioned. It seems,

however, more plausible that these similarities were common elements in the spirit of the time shared by many European countries in the middle of nineteenth century, rather than direct influences.

One more fact ought to be mentioned: Rudenschöld's own experiences from an almost lifelong struggle against poverty. Although born and brought up in an upper-class milieu, he was nevertheless forced to provide for the welfare of himself and his family as a simple elementary school-teacher, and to make great sacrifices. A modest way of life was for him a case of dire necessity.

A teacher and organizer at the local level

The state regulation on elementary schools of 1842 was extremely vague. According to its first paragraph there was to be one, preferably fixed, school in every parish. Two or three small parishes could combine, however, to set up such a school together. The pedagogical method which was recommended was the Bell-Lancaster monitorial system. This method would also be used in the training of teachers. When, in 1843, Rudenschöld started his work with the elementary schools in the parish where Läckö Palace was situated, he found serious defects in the school organization which were, however, acceptable according to the state regulations. For instance, it was unclear to what extent the children should be able to read from a book when they entered school for the first time. In the long debates about the elementary school in the parliament of 1840-41, strong opinions were expressed for maintaining the tradition of teaching the children the elements of reading in their homes.

The demand for 'one, preferably fixed, school' in most parishes implied that there should be a 'central school' bringing together as many children as possible and consequently involving a long journey to school for most of them. Thus, any homogenous grouping of pupils into classes by age was excluded.

Rudenschöld found this organization unsatisfactory. He rejected the Lancaster method. The training given by the monitors was ineffective and, as far as learning the catechism was involved, quite misleading as it only resulted in the mechanical repetition of words in a book without any understanding of its content. Such work with the catechism lessons, he declared, must therefore be seriously and vigorously opposed as being not only unnecessary and useless, but also deeply damaging. There was also another disadvantage: it could easily stimulate a system of corruption, as it was not unusual for the monitors, when examining younger pupils, to receive bribes in the form of gifts of various kinds, such as money, apples or lumps of sugar.

Rudenschöld believed that it was necessary to set up schools in every hamlet in order to give the youngest children a shorter distance to go to school. (It is true that he was in favour of home education, but he also realized that it could not work in all families.) When the younger children had learned to read they would be able to travel, at a somewhat older age, a little further in order to attend the proper elementary school.

In 1850 he presented such a school system programme in a publication: *Tankar om vår tids samhällsfrågor: del II, Om folkskolor* [Thoughts about the Social Problems in Our Time. Vol. 2. About Elementary Schools]. The purpose of teaching in what he called *roteskolor* (hamlet schools) was:

- to teach children the basic steps in learning to read from a book so that they could draw greater advantage from education given in their own homes;
- to give this instruction in a school near enough to the home so that no child would be prevented from going to school because of the distance;
- to use older pupils as teachers on certain days in elementary schools with qualified teachers as supervisors;
- to protect small children from the influence of older children by enrolling the latter in central schools, which should also not be too far away from their homes;
- to make it possible for some of the more advanced children to reach a sufficiently high level of competence to assist the teachers in the hamlet schools;
- to let the elementary school-teachers evaluate home education on their periodic tours of inspection to the hamlet schools;
- to introduce some instruction in arithmetic and writing.

Rudenschöld's school plan clearly reflects the major difficulties existing in establishing an elementary school system catering for all rural children in large parts of Sweden. Through his great familiarity with the practical conditions, he saw the problems in their right perspective. Later on, he came to develop the idea of these relatively primitive hamlet schools further and, in so doing, also raised the overall aspiration.

A school plan for the national level

Ideas about the organization of the elementary school which Rudenschöld presented in the book mentioned above were based on his personal experiences as a teacher and school organizer in his own parish. His work had been successful and had attracted the attention of many uninitiated people. He was invited by organizations and associations to give lectures about his school. Educators from different parts af Sweden visited him and his schools in order to study them. He wrote articles in newspapers and magazines. In the two books about 'social mobility' – written on the initiative of and published by *Hushållningssällskapet i Skaraborgs län* (The Agriculturel Society in the Province of Skaraborg) – school problems were basic issues. All these circumstances resulted in the school experiment at Läckö becoming widely known. The mere fact that a count worked as a simple school-teacher also aroused attention – and curiosity.

In 1849 Rudenschöld had received some economic aid from the government to realise his educational projects, and it was only natural that, during the 1850s, he should be asked to fulfil the functions of an itinerant inspector. His commission was to follow up the work of establishing elementary schools on behalf of the government and the parliament. He gave an account of his

experiences and presented a proposal for school organization in two books: *Tankar om folkskolan* [Thoughts about the Elementary School] in 1854 and *Svenska folkskolans praktiska ordnande* [The Practical Arrangement of the Swedish Elementary School] in 1856. The government bought 2,500 copies of the latter book for distribution to the local school boards all over the country.

According to Rudenschöld, the main problems concerning the elementary school could be summarized in the following two questions:

1. How can the elementary school be accessible to all children 'in a vast, sparsely populated country with a harsh climate and a poor population'?
2. How can the teaching be arranged so as to be adapted to its purpose?

The two problems are interwoven one with another as the organization of the school to a great extent creates the conditions for the teaching process. Thanks to his visits to many schools all over Sweden, Rudenschöld gained wider experience, which enabled him to go on developing his ideas about the organization of the elementary school with still greater authority.

On the whole, however, he maintained his previously declared views, not least his criticism of the Lancaster method. His familiarity of how this method was practised in certain large urban schools resulted in even harsher criticism of it. This aroused – not surprisingly – strong indignation among the advocates of this type of school and also led to some controversy. As this method was officially sanctioned in the state regulations on the elementary schools published in 1842 and also in the instructions for teacher training colleges, Rudenschöld's criticisms affected many people. His message was simple: it was impossible to obtain good results with school classes containing 100 or more pupils with a single teacher and a few monitors to assist him.

Rudenschöld's school plan meant that the system of small local schools was further developed. These were often named *småskolor*, which literally interpreted means 'small schools'. In the 1850s, the concept was unclear: it could refer to both a small school and also to a school for small children. The difference is, however, primarily of academic interest, as these schools were usually small schools for small children. The basic idea was, as mentioned above, that these *småskolor* should be set up near enough to the children's homes that the distance to the school building should not be an obstacle for regular school attendance. But there was also another motive: to bring the infants together in a special classroom. He sometimes called these schools 'home schools' and there were two reasons for this: they could be located in one of the children's homes (and not in a special school building); and it presupposed collaboration between the school and the parents.

The primary task of the *småskola* was to teach the children to read from a book, even if writing and arithmetic also formed part of the curriculum. It is worth observing that Rudenschöld had not given up the idea of instruction in the home for learning the rudiments of reading. To begin school by teaching the letters of the alphabet would only be wasting the teacher's time.

The question of the role played by the parents from a pedagogical point of view had been an important and controversial issue in the discussions in parliament and in the general debate. Rudenschöld attached great importance to the home, as well as to education by the parents. He recommended a kind of interaction between home and school, implying that the children should be at school in the mornings and do their homework at home in the afternoons – or go to school every second day and do their homework on the day in between.

Rudenschöld's opposition to the Lancaster method even met with general approval. Much attention had been paid to the difficulties in trying to teach children of widely different ages and levels of knowledge in one and the same classroom. His ambition to set up separate preparatory local schools (*småskolor*) became just one phase in developments which, in 1858, led to a parliamentary decision implying that school boards all over the country had the right to set up 'smaller schools' (*mindre skolor*) for the initial education of beginners, independent of the distance to the school. Many people thought that experience had shown there was a missing link between parents and the school, and this was it. It should not be necessary in these schools to engage trained and qualified teachers. Rudenschöld intended that older pupils from so-called élite classes (see below) could be engaged. Furthermore, the teachers from these élite schools were to carry out regular inspections of the 'smaller schools' in order to supervise the work and to help the young teachers. When parliament accepted the idea of special preparatory schools it was assumed that 15- or 16-year-old girls or clever monitors from Lancaster-type schools were to be engaged as teachers.

A higher section of the elementary school

A leading idea in Rudenschöld's educational programme was to give all children without exception a chance to receive basic formal education. This implied, in a poor and sparsely populated country like Sweden, that it was necessary to accept a school with rather modest aims. Following on from this school, there would be a higher section for children between 12 and 15 years of age in a central school. Such a school, dispensing a higher level of education, would not be compulsory but would, however, make great demands upon the pupils; it would be a school for a limited élite. He consequently called this school the 'élite school'.

In one respect, Rudenschöld was somewhat vague and unclear. He did not say much about the ordinary elementary school. It is possible that the explanation is to be found in the fact that this school was the main object of the state regulation on elementary schools of 1842. For this reason, perhaps, he did not find it necessary say very much about it.

Rudenschöld built his political programme for schools on a special psychological foundation: there were large individual differences with regard to intellectual resources. The political consequences of this for education and the school implied that the most talented – in accordance with 'the eternal fundamental laws' – must be identified and selected, and that the elementary school was the

foundation for higher learning. To the detriment of the secondary schools, in the past it was the wealth of the parents that had been the determining factor on entry. While it was true that these schools were not closed to poor children, it was nevertheless practically impossible for them to attend. For that reason, secondary schools were not true schools for the intellectual élite. 'The old-fashioned method of selecting the élite is defective in so far as the pupils are selected exclusively from a tiny part of the population', i.e. the economically privileged classes. A weak point in this selective process was conspicuous in that children began the secondary school at such an early age that their intellectual talents could not yet be properly evaluated. The solution to this problem, according to Rudenschöld, consisted in moving the basis of selection for higher education to the elementary school. 'The range from which the élite was selected' would thus be widened to the whole nation. There were also other advantages in such a system:

> To choose the élites in such a manner and with such a purpose from the whole population is of importance not only for the more abundant resources that will be available, but also because the élites would then arise from the social classes where natural strength is still the soundest and the soil of the moral culture more fertile and fruitful, namely from the labouring classes in the countryside (*Tankar om folkskolan*, p. 58).

As mentioned earlier, this suggestion corresponds to the ideas of 'social mobility' which Rudenschöld had proposed ten years earlier. Experience has shown, he says, that occupations such as farming, trade and handicrafts have provided children from the upper classes with prosperous jobs and independence, while such jobs had previously been regarded as degrading. Rudenschöld criticizes the short-sighted view that such jobs are degrading: only a false conception of happiness leads parents to deprive their children of the work which might be compatible with their inclinations and aptitudes.

Religious instruction

The Swedish elementary school was in many respects subordinated to the Swedish Church, a Lutheran State church. The local vicar was to officiate as chairman of the school board. As Rudenschöld himself was a firm Christian believer, he found this order quite correct. He was of the opinion that the teaching of religion should be conducted by a clergyman. The most fundamental part of religious instruction in the elementary school was, traditionally, Luther's Catechism.

This text existed in two versions: a short version and a longer or complete book. Rudenschöld's idea was that the study of Luther's Catechism should be restricted to the Short Catechism, including Luther's explanations, since such study already led to the quite pointless rote learning of the content without comprehension. According to him, the Gospels ought to be the fundamental part of religious instruction. It was also important for the teacher to interpret the

words of the Bible intelligibly to the children and to avoid such meaningless learning.

In relation to his contemporaries, Rudenschöld's view on religious instruction was remarkably modern. The methodical changes which followed later on were to a great extent in accordance with his opinions.

Rudenschöld's educational principles

Torsten Rudenschöld belongs to the educationists who are not well known outside the boundaries of their own country. His publications have not been translated into any foreign languages, nor has his work previously been presented to an international circle of readers. He has, however, had a very great influence on the development of the elementary school in Sweden. Working as an ordinary school-teacher, organizer and writer of educational publications gave him strategic importance when the general elementary school – lacking an established organization as well as a curriculum – was being introduced. His work can be described as showing a realistic judgement of the conditions operating in his time and of the political and pedagogical principles affecting the school. These principles are summed up below.

According to Rudenschöld, the elementary school would be a 'common basic school' for all higher education. All children, irrespective of the social position of their family, would attend that school. This principle was later on maintained with great determination by the elementary school-teachers and the political left wing (consisting of the Liberals and the Social Democrats). During the twentieth century, this idea gradually became a reality, accepted by all, taking final form in the comprehensive school reform of 1962.

Rudenschold's most original contribution to political and social political thinking about the school consists of his theory about 'social mobility'. He attached great importance to the role of the school as an instrument for the transformation of society. He recommended manual labour as an important element in the schooling of all young people.

In his struggle against the Lancaster method, a principle argument was emphasis on direct contact between the teacher and the pupils. Such a relationship could not be established in a Lancaster school where there was only one teacher and several monitors dealing with a huge number of pupils.

Concerning the internal working of the school, Rudenschöld attached special importance to training in reading from a book: teaching the children to read well and with good understanding of the text. He complained of their poor ability to read – even among older pupils; he noted that this inferior capacity was often concealed because the children had learned many texts by heart. He recommended the phonetic method in the process of learning to read.

As an important condition for success at school teachers must always take into consideration the children's stage of development and try to adapt their teaching to it.

Among the purely methodical principles to which Rudenschöld attached great importance the following can be mentioned:

- *the principle of following the natural course*: the importance of proceeding from the simple to the complicated, and from the easy to the difficult;
- *the principle of teaching by object lessons*: the importance of making the teaching as clear and lucid as possible, in spite of the lack of facilities encountered in poorly equipped classrooms;
- *the principle of arousing interest*: the need to awaken the children's interest and counteract the function of the school as a place where homework was corrected and examinations carried out;
- *the principle of physical education*: combined with an outdoor life and manual labour, this was intended partly as a counterbalance to too much sitting still, partly to strengthen the children's physical growth and also to teach them respect for manual work.

Torsten Rudenschöld has been called 'the founder of the Swedish elementary school'. Even though he was not the unique pioneer in this work, he was, however, the most prominent one. On a memorial monument situated near Läckö Palace he is called an educator and a philanthropist. It is, indeed, an accurate description.

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Main works by Torsten Rudenschöld

In chronological order

1845. *Tankar om ståndscirkulation* [Thoughts about the Mobility of Persons between Social Classes].
1846. *Tankar om ståndscirkulationens verkställighet* [Thoughts about the Realization of the Mobility of Persons between Social Classes].
1848. *Tankar om vår tids samhällsfrågor: del I* [Thoughts about the Social Problems of Our Time: Volume 1].
1850. *Tankar om vår tids samhällsfrågor: del II, Om folkskolan* [Thoughts about the Social Problems of Our Time: Vol. 2. About Elementary Schools].
1854. *Tankar om folkskolan* [Thoughts about the Elementary School].
1856. *Svenska folkskolans praktiska ordnande* [The Practical Arrangement of the Swedish Elementary Schools].

All of these publications are available in a new, easily accessible edition: *Pedagogiska skrifter* [Educational Writings] (Stockholm, Sveriges allmänna folkskollärares litteratursällskap), 1920-21, nos. 89, 92, 95, 96.

MICHAEL ERNEST SADLER

(1861–1943)

James Henry Higginson

Michael Ernest Sadler, born into a Radical home in 1861 at Barnsley in the industrial north of England, died in Oxford in 1943. His life spanned a rapidly changing period of European history. His thinking encapsulated three revolutions: that of France in 1789 (significantly Professor Sadler always opened his lecture course for Manchester students on this theme); Great Britain's own Industrial Revolution in the nineteenth century; and the 1917 Russian Revolution. He experienced, from the British viewpoint, three wars: that in South Africa with the Boers at the beginning of the century; the breaking up of nations in the First World War of 1914-18; and the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939. He also witnessed attempts at new international structures such as the League of Nations, and the gradual transformation from colonialism and imperialism to a commonwealth of nations. From a study of the long life of this dynamic man we can detect the fusion of all these influences in shaping the thought and social ideals of Michael Sadler into coherent policies for advancement and action.

In the days of his youth[1]

Sadler cherished his English heritage. His early youth was coloured by the fact that one of his forebears, Michael Thomas Sadler, was among the pioneers of the Factory Acts. His early memories were full of associations with the leaders of the working-class movement in the north of England. Remembering these pioneers, Sadler recorded: 'I can see how much religion deepened their insight and steadied their judgement, and saved them from coarse materialism in their judgement of economic values. This common heritage was a bond of social union. A social tradition is the matrix of education.'[2] Sadler's schooling was typical of his times. It gave him a diverse background, which was to be reflected throughout his life in his interpretation of the process and content of education. When he was

10 years old, he was sent to a private boarding school at Winchester where the atmosphere was markedly conservative. Sadler recalls:

> Think of the effect on my mind of being swung from the Radical West Riding . . . where I had never heard the Conservative point of view properly put, to where I was thrown into an entirely new atmosphere in which the old Conservative and Anglican traditions were still strong.[3]

From this preparatory school he moved to Rugby in the English Midlands, where he spent his adolescence in an atmosphere entirely different from that of the Winchester school. His masters were enthusiastic upholders of Oliver Cromwell and the Puritan Revolution. The young Sadler soon found himself in critical revolt against the Cavalier and Anglican traditions.

The contrasting impact of this schooling had a far-reaching influence in Sadler's student days at Oxford. He went up to Trinity College in 1880. Here he soon came under the spell of leading historians such as T. H. Green and Arnold Toynbee. But it was John Ruskin who completely overwhelmed the undergraduate. Sadler has left on record how, in his second year at Trinity College, a short course of lectures was announced, to be given in the University Museum by Ruskin. Tickets were difficult to get because of the popularity of the speaker. After a warm description of Ruskin's picturesque appearance, Sadler articulates a favourite conviction when he writes:

> Nominally these lectures of Ruskin's were upon Art. Really they dealt with the economic and spiritual problems of English national life. He believed, and he made us believe, that every lasting influence in an educational system, requires an economic structure of society in harmony with its ethical ideal.[4]

That belief persisted to the end of Sadler's life and is recurrent in his many analyses of foreign systems of education.

When, in July 1882, the examinations lists were issued, Sadler had gained a first-class degree. A month earlier he had become President Elect of the Oxford Students' Union, a field of public debating experience that has produced many an English politician.

During the next couple of years, while continuing his academic studies, the question of what career he should choose became increasingly pressing. He was offered a number of jobs – the headship of a school, a position in India, an invitation to take up journalism. Talent-spotters who had noted his eloquence at the Oxford Union debates foresaw a political career for him. But Sadler could not commit himself to the monopoly of any one political party. Once again, the conflicting views that had coloured his upbringing emerged. He analyses his situation thus:

> These variant impressions spoilt me for ever for parliamentary life in English politics. The experience that I gained then and since made me feel that England is united only in supreme moments of common danger, and is really at least two Englands, each of which inclines to a different form of social organization, and has different preferences in social

ideas, as well as in religious observance and in its attitude to state control. The one is ultimately feudal and hierarchical; the other oscillates between being individualistic and being bureaucratic.[5]

Sadler coined the phrase 'the two-mindedness of England' and throughout his life, even to his last writing, he reiterated this conviction.

From adult education to secondary education

Ultimately, this brilliant young academic decided that what would interest him most after graduation would be a job in the field of adult education. In May 1885 he became Secretary to the Oxford University Standing Committee of the Delegacy for Local Examinations. Thus began an energetic career as travelling lecturer, tutor and organizer of lectures for the working classes in the industrial centres of the Midlands. On my desk I have before me a typical brochure and syllabus from 1885 which announces:

Syllabus of a course of lectures on past, present and future of the working classes, and how to better their condition with a statement and criticism of the views held by famous political economists by Michael E. Sadler, B.A.[6]

Sadler remained as a peripatetic tutor for some nine years. During this time he gave expositions of the work of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Adam Smith, Claude Henri de Rouvroy Comte de Saint-Simon, François-Marie-Charles Fourier, Robert Owen, Frédéric Bastiat and Ferdinand Lassalle. He was one of the first English scholars both to recognize the significance of Karl Marx and to give his students an assessment of Marxist doctrine. At the end of a detailed account of Marx's life and writings, Sadler sums up in 1889:

Karl Marx was a critical, not a constructive, influence. He exposed the evil of the existing system; but his suggestions of practical reform for the future are not as valuable as his indictment of the past.[7]

So effective was Sadler's work for university extension that he was invited in 1891 to give three talks to the National Conference on University Extension in Philadelphia. This was the first of three visits he made to the United States. At the conclusion of this tour, he made a prophecy to his American colleagues and told them:

Your Common Schools, I take it, go as far as our Elementary Schools in fitting pupils for the University. The next step we have to take in England is that of Secondary Education – a medium between Primary and the University.[8]

In 1893 Sadler wrote personally to influential members of Oxford University proposing that a petition should be organized to the Hebdomadal Council, requesting that body to invite a conference to come to Oxford to discuss the future development of secondary education in England. This conference was the

first of its kind to be held in any British university. It brought together representatives from the public schools, the universities, the charity commissioners, school boards and the teachers' unions, to consider how secondary education could be extended. The outcome was the setting up of a Royal Commission under James (Lord) Bryce, and Sadler was one of its most active members. Some have regarded him as the principal author of its ultimate report. A particular feature of this investigation was the sending of questionnaires on the main problems of secondary education, as a bridge between primary and higher education, to the countries of Europe, the then British Empire, and the United States. This was one of Sadler's first ventures into the field of comparative education, a field in which he was soon to become an outstanding pioneer. Through the inquiries of the Bryce Commission he established many personal relationships with overseas educators, which were to stand him in good stead in the next phase of his career.

Research director

In the 1890s, while investigating the contemporary scene in secondary education, Sadler became aware of the insularity of the British Government's education policies. He felt that the inadequacy of commercial and industrial training in the United Kingdom needed challenging. He was well acquainted with technological development in Germany. He also knew of the pioneer studies in comparative education sponsored by the United States. He had influential friends in the government and he succeeded in persuading the Vice-president of the National Committee on Education, A. H. D. Acland, that the existing department in London should aim at increasing British awareness of what was taking place educationally in other countries. Sadler himself records:

> A study of the publications of the United States Bureau of Education in Washington D.C., then under the direction of the venerable philosopher Dr. W. T. Harris, with whom I had many conversations during a tour which we made in Pennsylvania, had kindled in my mind a belief that a new organ of inquiry and report, if attached to the Education Department in Whitehall in London, might prove useful in stimulating public opinion.[9]

That 'new organ of inquiry and report' was set up in 1895, as the Office of Special Inquiries and Reports. Sadler was appointed its first director. During his tenure, from 1895 to 1903, he initiated eleven massive volumes of reports covering what was happening educationally in many European countries, the territories of the then British Empire and the United States. Today, this material, produced at the turn of the century, provides a wealth of data, articulating factors likely to be informative for historians, sociologists and comparativists who wish to identify the roots and influences that have shaped contemporary problems across the world. As Sadler contemplated the transition from the nineteenth to the twentieth century he speculated:

> Never before in history has there been so worldwide an awakening to the profound significance of National Education; we find the former everywhere: in France, in Germany, in

Scandinavia, in Holland and in Belgium, in Austria, in Hungary, in Italy and in Switzerland. We can discern its workings in Russia. Japan is full of it. It is stirring in many parts of the British Dominion overseas, especially in Canada. And in the United States the educational movement is in some ways the most remarkable in the world.[10]

Characteristically, having outlined the ramifications of this world movement, Sadler puts forward a leading question: 'What is the significance of this remarkable disturbance of thought on the subject of Education?'

This question permeates the assembly of data that Sadler and his researchers gathered for the eleven volumes of *Special Reports*. In examining the data we can discern that Sadler evolved a methodology, which was later to be described by Brian Holmes as 'the problem method'. As Research Director, Sadler required those who investigated for him to deal with specific problems, identifying relevant factors within their social contexts, and, if possible, to note any pointers or implications for future action. He defined his function as Director on several occasions. Thus, in the Government Blue Book issued in 1903, ostensibly making public the circumstances of Sadler's resignation from the Office, Sadler writes:

The chief work of an educational intelligence office . . . is to collect, summarize, and publish various kinds of educational experience, with a view to (1) getting what is sound and true from a number of discrepant opinions, (2) informing the nation how it stands in regard to educational efficiency as compared with other nations, and (3) promoting, as far as possible, general consent and agreement as to the wisest and most fruitful line of development of national education.[11]

Throughout his long life Sadler had particular interests and personal friendships in Germany, France and the United States. The opportunity remains for some scholar to make studies across the period of Sadler's lifetime of his interpretation of all these links. Here space permits mention only of Volumes IX, X and XI of *Special Reports*. Volume IX, published in 1902, deals with *Education in Germany*. It contains one of Sadler's longest and most penetrating assessments, with informative comparisons with France, the United Kingdom and the United States. Re-reading this scholarly analysis, with its implications for the Europe of 1992, I am reminded that it was this far-sighted Englishman who lectured to an audience in Frankfurt-am-Main, two years before the outbreak of the First World War, on the theme 'England's Debt to German Education'. In passing, it is a pleasure to note that Jack Sislian introduced a seminar on Sadler's comparative studies of Germany and England into teacher education at the University of Hamburg in 1971 and continued this as a well-attended feature until his retirement in 1986. He also gave lectures on Sadler's writings, in 1975, at Kent State University in the United States and, in 1977/78, at the University of Botswana and Swaziland, where he was visiting professor.

Volumes X and XI of *Special Reports* are both devoted to *Education in the U.S.A.* They contain a comprehensive series of studies by the authorities of the day, illuminating many aspects of the American scene. One of the most penetra-

ting papers is an analysis by Sadler himself of 'A Contrast between German and American Ideals in Education'. There survives a revealing exchange of letters, in 1931, between Sadler, then Master of University College, Oxford, and Elmer Ellsworth Brown, Chancellor of New York University. This exchange is published in a brochure under the headline, 'The Only Tragedy Is Failure to Realize One's Capacity for Good'. Both academics were much concerned about 'how higher education must be rationally related to the changing needs of society'.

Sadler's days as a civil servant in government employ grew increasingly frustrating. He wanted to exercise the autonomy traditional in the English university, to appoint competent researchers of his own choice, to investigate problems that he considered relevant to the English scenario. His government superiors wished to control the scope of the researches, especially if they were considered inconsistent with prevailing ministerial policies. Sadler's resignation from the Office of Special Inquiries and Reports in 1903 was widely reported in the press. Questions about his resignation were raised in the House of Commons; a Blue Book was published giving a detailed account of the background; and his departure became something of a *cause célèbre*.

Professor of history and administration of education

Thus, at the age of 42, Michael Sadler found himself without a job. But not for long. He was approached by the University of Manchester and invited to a Chair, the first of its kind in the United Kingdom, as part-time professor of history and administration of education. His duties required him to be resident in Manchester for one term each academic session, to give a lecture course to intending teachers, and to take part in such tutorial work as the Department of Education might require. In fact, Professor Sadler contributed a course of twenty-four lectures per session from 1903 to 1911 on 'The History of Education in England, 1800-1911'. The course always began with a diagnosis of the effects of the Industrial Revolution, of the impact of Methodism and the Evangelical movement, and of the French Revolution upon English education. To such a course the part-time professor brought the vast background he had acquired as research director. While in the latter post he had given a lecture, now often quoted as a classic, to a teachers' conference in Guildford, on the theme, 'How Far Can We Learn Anything of Practical Value from the Study of Foreign Systems of Education?' That focus on 'practical value' was typical of this empirical Englishman, as was his answer given in the course of the lecture:

> The practical value of studying, in a right spirit and with scholarly accuracy, the working of foreign systems of education, is that it will result in our being better fitted to study and understand our own.[12]

The period 1903-11, with its limited duties in the University of Manchester, gave Sadler numerous opportunities to pursue his special interests. Quite apart from his formal duties at the university, he devoted much time to carrying out investi-

gations and writing reports for some of the counties and boroughs which had acquired secondary-education powers under the Education Act of 1902. Under the Act, local authorities were faced with massive problems of reorganization, and they sought expert advice. No one was more equipped to give that advice than the man who had been influential in formulating the proposals of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education of 1895. These 'Sadler Reports' contained analyses of the problems and possibilities for the development of secondary education. They are enriched by his studies of foreign practice, as for instance the volume he prepared for the Liverpool Authority when he compared the opportunities for a great port with the experience available in the Hanseatic port of Hamburg, of which he had first-hand knowledge.

One of Sadler's lifelong concerns was the education of the young wage-earner. He wrote and spoke about this many times. He was deeply interested in the pioneering work of Georg Kerschensteiner in Munich and visited some of the continuation schools under his supervision. One outcome was a volume, edited by Sadler, on *Continuation Schools in England and Elsewhere*, published in 1907. Many years later he wrote an appraisal of Kerschensteiner's work for *The Times* of London in which he said:

> To go round the continuation schools in Munich in his dynamic company was like finding Plato in charge of a huge departmental store. . . . He believed that education for the ordinary men and women must be woven into the practical work of life. For him, Allgemeine Bildung for the multitude must integrate the power of the body and the powers of the mind.[13]

Another theme recurrent in Sadler's writing is the issue of moral education. In 1908 he edited two volumes of *Moral Instruction and Training in Schools*, reporting an international inquiry. Volume 1 includes thirty-three papers, covering the United Kingdom, and Volume 2 covers France, Belgium, Denmark, Norway, Germany, the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Japan.

It is fascinating to discover how moral education, religious values and concepts of democracy are interwoven in the data of these two volumes. Professor Sadler opens with a lengthy introduction in which he expresses a conviction characteristic of so many of his surveys of education. He writes:

> The influence of education upon conduct and character is the subject discussed in these volumes. Its chapters are the outcome of an inquiry undertaken with the purpose of gathering information as to the methods of moral instruction now in use in schools in different countries.[14]

Many years before, he had told his Guildford audience of teachers that education was by no means the product of learning in schools, 'a matter merely of schools and schoolrooms', and he added:

> Surely what we in England really mean in our hearts by education is that great aggregate of the influences which come to us in our homes, at church or chapel, in daily life, in

intercourse with our contemporaries, in love of home and father and mother – in all the thousand streams of influence and suggestion which in a free country converge upon each individual life, and shape ideals of conduct.[15]

It is thought-provoking to speculate on how Sadler would have identified moral education in our day of television and satellite intrusion into the home, and the leisure activities of the peoples of the world.

Higher education

Sadler was approached in 1911 by the University of Leeds and invited to become Vice-chancellor. It was an invitation that would take him back to his own origins in the West Riding of Yorkshire. It has been said of him:

As possibly the foremost scholar of that time, he recognized the opportunity the Leeds post then offered to give rein to his own missionary zeal: to build up a centre of learning in an industrial city which could widen educational opportunities for those who lacked them.[16]

Of the twelve years that Sadler was Vice-chancellor, four were war years, three were years of severe post-war depression, and two were years of economic and social unrest in the West Riding of Yorkshire. Nevertheless the university grew steadily. The buoyancy typical of Sadler led him to take an optimistic and positive approach to creating a large civic university.

A glance through the 600 items listed in Oliver Pickering's *Sir Michael Sadler: A Bibliography of His Published Works* reveals how continuously Sadler thought about university development, about the relationship of arts and sciences and technological education, until his retirement as Master of University College, Oxford, in 1934. His deep knowledge of the German system was always at the back of his mind as he steered a vigorous northern university through the days of the First World War. In its midst he produced a paper on 'What Should be the Connection between Government and the University?' – a paper that makes challenging reading in today's reconstruction and widening of higher educational opportunities throughout the world.

Perhaps most significant in making an evaluation of Sadler's thinking about university development would be an analysis of the task assigned to him by the British Government towards the end of the First World War. The Secretary of State for India, Austen Chamberlain, invited Sadler to accept the chairmanship of a commission the government proposed to appoint to inquire into the affairs of Calcutta University. Chamberlain wrote: 'Lord Chelmsford [the Viceroy] informs me that they hope for the solution of the big political problems of India through the solution of the educational problems.'[17]

After some hesitation Sadler accepted the invitation. Under his direction the Commission far exceeded its initial terms of reference. The result was thirteen volumes issued in 1919, providing a comprehensive sociological account of the

context in which Mahatma Gandhi was campaigning for the end of the British Raj and the independence of India. From the lines of inquiry pursued it is possible to deduce a conception of expanding higher education that goes far beyond the traditional university image in its search to relate higher education to the twentieth century, with its increasing availability of educational opportunities to women.

Prior to the publication of the Calcutta University Report, Sadler delivered a private address to the Senate of Bombay University. He put forward his personal conclusions as he surveyed 'The Educational Movement in India and Britain.' It was a far-sighted address, characteristic of Sadler's belief in the interrelationship of all the various levels of education and the importance of teacher training. He warned his listeners about producing 'an academic proletariat' with job expectations that could not be fulfilled. And finally he told the members of the Senate:

> And in India you stand on the verge of the most hazardous and inevitable of adventures – the planning of primary education for the unlettered millions of a hundred various races. I doubt whether the European model will fit Indian conditions. If you want social dynamite, modern Elementary education of the customary kind will give it to you. It is the agency that will put the masses in motion. But to what end or issue no-one can foretell.[18]

The last decade

In 1923, at 62, Sir Michael Sadler (he was knighted for his work as President of the Calcutta University Commission) was within three years of retirement from the vice-chancellorship of the University of Leeds. An informal and confidential approach was made by one of the Fellows of University College, Oxford, to find out whether he would be willing to serve as Master, a post which would allow him another thirteen years of service if he so wished. It was an opportunity that would, apart from his formal duties as Head of a House, allow him plenty of scope for his diverse national and international interests. He was duly elected by the Fellows and so returned to Oxford, the cradle of his undergraduate years. He took up the new position, which he held until his retirement in 1934. It is on record that when, after an absence of nearly thirty years, Sadler came back to Oxford, some academics asked, with a touch of nervousness about this dynamic personality, 'What will he do now in Oxford?'

This last decade of public service gave Sadler many opportunities to present, from his wide-ranging background, matured reflections and diagnoses of the problems of education in a rapidly changing world. Lord Asa Briggs, the social historian who was then a young don at Oxford, points out in his foreword to the Sadler anthology that his writings 'spanned many decades and have long-term meaning because they are concerned with the long-term development of industrial society and a more democratic world.'[19]

In 1930 Sadler paid his third visit to the United States. He addressed the Pennsylvania Schoolmen on 'An Englishman's Thoughts on the Service of American Education to the World'. He also lectured to the faculty and students of Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, on the general theme 'The Outlook in Secondary Education'. His three lectures were entitled 'Progress and Pitfalls', 'Youth and Tests', and 'A Liberal Education'. These three lectures taken together sum up Sadler's experience and thinking. In the first he attempts a living portrait gallery of the many young people from different nations whom he had met. In the second, he concentrates what he has often written and spoken about with reference to examinations and assessment. In the third, 'A Liberal Education', a historical retrospect (which ranges from Plato and Aristotle to Cardinal Newman, Matthew Arnold, T. H. Huxley and R. H. Tawney), Sadler crystallizes his own convictions in a masterly peroration. In savouring its inspiration for our own day I would substitute for the term 'a liberal education' (which by now has drawn to itself a limited historical connotation), the phrase, 'a liberating education'. Such a substitution would, I believe, have been acceptable to Sadler himself as he grappled with the problems of the enslaving media-conditioning of young people. Ever the optimist, he concluded for his American audience with the words:

> But we can go forward rejoicing at what has already been achieved and with confidence that by slow degrees we shall come more nearly to the attainment of our hopes. We realize that a liberal education is a discipline of body, mind and spirit; a discipline which is not only individual, but communal. Our eyes have been opened to the truth that the angle of a liberal education subtends the arc of life from the nursery to old age. We perceive that the presence of a liberal education is not signified exclusively by any label, certificate or academic degree; above all that a liberal education does not consist in the absorption of inert ideas in cramming for an examination.[20]

Having thus cut through the undergrowth of much contemporary educational practice, Sadler may well be required to give us a somewhat more positive delineation of what he wished to see as the harvest of a liberating education. His answer is unequivocal and he rounds off his peroration by focusing on an attitude of mind. The fruits of the education he visualizes will be:

> evinced in an attitude of mind, liberated from apathy and from self-will, in an attitude of mind toward life, work, duty, and the realities of belief. In it are blended freedom and discipline; questioning and awe; the education of the body and the education of the mind; training and self-training; science and letters; preparation for livelihood and leisure alike.[21]

During his last decade as Master of University College, Sadler was much preoccupied with the menacing international situation which was developing in Europe. In 1933 he gave an address at Rhodes House in Oxford based, as he said, 'on my personal experience during the last nine months'. He proceeded to make an analysis of the impact of Marx's *Das Kapital* and Adolf Hitler's *Mein*

Kampf. He made a number of deductions about the interrelationships of economic and spiritual forces and suggested:

> Not only the European and Australian and the American, but the bronze, black and Far Eastern worlds are involved together. But because the unrest in our minds is spiritual as well as economic, the course of the revolutions will proceed at a different pace in different regions. . . . I conceive the outcome of this worldwide revolutionary movement will be the establishment – not of a new social order but of new orders. . . . The hope that after a world crisis and 'clear-up' there will emerge one universal type of social organization seems to me over-simplified.[22]

In 1934 Sadler entertained von Ribbentrop, the German Ambassador to the United Kingdom, for a weekend at the Master's Lodgings in University College. He was an unwelcome visitor and Sadler has left a vivid account of the exchanges that took place. After dinner, von Ribbentrop delivered a defence of National Socialism, declaring that it had saved Germany from Bolshevism. In the course of this conversation the Ambassador commented on how his nation had struggled to preserve 'the very elements of Western civilization' for which, if needs be, 'the individual must be sacrificed to the cause'. Characteristically, Sadler slipped in a question, 'And what are those elements of Western civilization which you are so anxious to preserve?'

Final comments

During the passage from uneasy peace to the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939, Sadler was a man of troubled spirit. At 78 years of age he felt the reality of the power of evil in mankind's temporal affairs. His diary is full of observations on the spiritual issues of the Second World War which he felt as 'a tragic disturbance in the mind of man'. He tried to make a diagnosis of the German situation during the Nazi period. An extract from his diary for 25 November 1940 reads:

> The Germans (always apt to overdo things) have, under Nazi leadership and compulsion, pushed to an extreme several tendencies which were visible before the war and, if moderately and cautiously pursued, would have met with full general agreement:
> 1. Systematic physical training for all young people.
> 2. Encouragement of the influence of corporate life in boarding schools.
> 3. Encouragement of the emotional life – through art and assemblies – fostering of individual self-confidence in a framework of comradeship and collective opinion and restraint upon tendencies to lay too-inclusive stress on intellectual gymnastics.
> 4. Attempt to unify Europe – economically and politically.
> 5. Planning, in industry and public works, at the cost of individual abstinence and self-denial.[23]

When we remember that such an analysis was made at the height of all the irrationality and propaganda between warring nations, it brings home to us the

intellectual penetration which Michael Sadler displayed so often in his earlier days as Research Director. To his survey of Nazism he added the personal comment: 'The gangsters who, with the service of the Gestapo, have seized control of German life, have defiled many of the aims which, if unsullied, might have been beneficial to Europe.'[24]

In the *Memoir* of his father, Michael Sadler records his father's long-cherished wish to write a history of English education. He explains that, although much preparatory material had been assembled over the years, his father was always too busily occupied to sit down and produce a magnum opus. Consequently, what remains is a discursive miscellany which – in his novelist son's view – do not merit publication. In fact, some ninety pages of manuscript, though discursive, offer a distillation of the essence of English education.

Europe was already plunged into the Second World War when Sadler, then in his late seventies, sat down to prepare an outline of the history he had so long desired to write. Perhaps he was seeking some morsel of security from his knowledge of a well-trodden road. He wrote commentaries on nationalism in education; British reaction to nationalism; a vivid pen-sketch of Johann Gottlieb Fichte; a review of five books that he considered had had a seminal influence; studies of Joseph Priestley and Adam Smith; with many incidental remarks as he viewed the developing war situation. But standing out from all this miscellanea was his attempt to grapple with what he so often spoke about throughout his life as 'the two-mindedness of England'. He tried, and found it difficult, to determine to what end or issue the great forces visibly and invisibly at work in English education, were tending. He identified two possibilities, symbolized in the writings of John Stuart Mill and John Ruskin. As he pondered the future of English education he found himself asking:

> Is it towards an elaborately comprehensive system of all types of school, representing every creed and many colours of conviction? Or is it towards some unified monopoly of education administered by the State and by the State alone? In short (not to go further back) will it be to John Stuart Mill, or John Ruskin that the new model when it is completed, will trace its affiliation?[25]

Had Sir Michael Sadler been living today he might well have claimed that the 1988 Education Reform Act in England was a perfect embodiment of his questioning.

Notes

1. See J. H. Higginson (ed.), *Selections from Michael Sadler*, p. 11. Liverpool, Dejall & Meyorre, 1980. The article 'In the Days of My Youth' is reproduced in full.
2. Ibid., p. 11.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p. 13.
5. Ibid., p. 11.
6. Ibid., p. 21.

7. Ibid., p. 22.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid., p. 205.
10. See *Special Reports on Educational Subjects. Education in Germany.* Vol. 9, Chapter 1.
11. See Board of Education, *Papers relating to the Resignation of the Director of Special Inquiries and Reports*, Col. 1602, p. 44, London, HMSO, 1903.
12. Higginson, op. cit., p. 50. The full text of the address is reproduced, pp. 48-51.
13. Ibid., p. 81.
14. Michael Sadler, *Moral Instruction and Training in Schools*, Vol. 1: *Report of an International Inquiry.* London, Longman, Green & Co., 1908.
15. Higginson, op. cit., p. 48.
16. See *Michael Sadler*, p. 12. The University of Leeds Art Gallery, 1989. A general sketch of 'Sir Michael Sadler, Educationist and Vice-Chancellor', is given by Professor Peter Gosden.
17. See M. Sadler, *Michael Ernest Sadler: Memoir by His Son*, p. 282, London, Constable, 1949.
18. Higginson, op. cit., p. 136. The full text of this address is reproduced on pp. 132-36.
19. Higginson, op. cit., Foreword by Lord Asa Briggs.
20. Ibid., p. 162.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid., p. 164. This Rhodes House speech is reproduced in full, pp. 163-65.
23. Ibid., p. 16.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid., p. 192.

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For scholars wishing to follow up references to Michael Sadler's prolific output, two works are particularly useful:

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Pickering, O. S. *Sir Michael Sadler: A Chronological Bibliography.* Some 600 items are listed and the source where many of them may be found is indicated. This publication is available from the Department of Adult and Continuing Education, University of Leeds, Leeds LS2 9JT, United Kingdom.

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Sadler, M. *Michael Ernest Sadler: Memoir by His Son.* London, Constable, 1949.

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In chronological order

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1897-1902 *Special Reports on Educational Subjects.* Issued by the Office of Special Inquiries and Reports under the direction of M. E. Sadler, these volumes contain informed papers by Michael Sadler and also illustrate his talent for finding colleagues with particular knowledge of other systems of education.

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Vol. 2 (1898). *Education in England and Wales; Physical Education; The Heuristic Method of Teaching; University Education in France.*

Vol. 3 (1898). *National Organisation of Education in Switzerland; Secondary Education in Prussia, Baden and Sweden; Teaching of Modern Languages; Higher Commercial Education in France, Germany and Belgium.*

Vol. 4 (1901). *Educational Systems of the Dominion of Canada, Newfoundland and the West Indies.*

Vol. 5 (1901). *Educational Systems of Cape Colony, Natal, Commonwealth of Australia, New Zealand, Ceylon and Malta.*

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Vol. 9 (1902). *Education in Germany.*

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1941 'Juncta Disjuncta'. These five articles, reprinted in *The Times* of London as an eight-page pamphlet, cover the following themes: 'The English Public Schools'; 'Future of the Private Schools'; 'The Troubled Sea of the Mind'; 'The Two-mindedness of England about Education'; and 'A Ministry of Health and Education'. (The fourth article is reprinted in Higginson, op. cit., pp. 187-89.)

Further reading

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OTTO SALOMON

(1849–1907)

Hans Thorbjörnsson[1]

Otto Salomon was born in Göteborg, Sweden, to fairly wealthy Jewish parents. After grammar school (matriculation, 1868), he spent four months at the Technological Institute in Stockholm and eight months at Ultuna Agricultural Institute near Uppsala; he did not complete either course of study.

As a teacher and educator, Salomon was self-taught; he acquired teaching experience at the vocational school for boys at Nääs, a manor about twenty miles east of Göteborg. There Salomon's uncle, the rich businessman August Abrahamson, owned a large estate. Together, these two men founded a vocational school for boys in 1872, a vocational school for girls in 1874 and a teacher-training school for *slöjd* (craftwork) teachers in 1875. From 1882 onwards Salomon concentrated his activities on the teacher-training school, lecturing and organizing for the further training of elementary school-teachers. This training scheme was designed so that serving teachers could obtain handicraft teaching skills, in addition to the ability to teach theoretical or academic subjects.

What is slöjd?

Salomon coined the following definition: *Slöjd* is an old Scandinavian word having as its origin the adjective *slög* which means 'handy'. *Slöjd* means 'craft' or 'manual skill'.

Up until the end of the nineteenth century, country dwellers in Sweden very often spent their evenings spinning, weaving or working in wood, making rakes, hammer handles, benches, tables, spoons, etc. – appliances needed in everyday household and farm activities. This domestic activity was called 'home crafts' or 'handicrafts'. Selling these products provided an important supplement to the family income.

About 1885, Salomon used the expression *pedagogisk slöjd* (educational sloyd or craft), defining it in the school and educational context in the sense described above. Nowadays, it is more appropriate to say *skolslöjd* (schoolcraft).

Sloyd or handicrafts is the non-professional production of small objects made of wood or metal. There are important differences between such handicrafts and trades such as, for example, carpentry. In Salomon's time no machines were used in handicrafts. The craftsman or woman, when making their products, used different tools and a different approach to the work compared to that of a carpenter (i.e. while the craftsman uses a knife, the carpenter prefers the chisel). In commercial carpentry there is a division of labour; in handicrafts, none whatever.

Contemporary Swedish society

The Swedish state in the period 1870-1910 was remarkably conservative and dominated by farmers, who held a privileged position since they had been granted the right to vote. King Oskar II – a very conservative ruler – held a strong position and played a dominant role in politics. The government of the country was not controlled by the parliamentary system until 1917 – a change connected with the introduction of universal suffrage for men in 1909, and for women in 1918.

Local communities were dominated by the farmers. The priest invariably held the position of chairman on the local school board. The farmers, as well as the rest of the board, were not in the least interested in change, especially if innovations were expensive, and they often had to be persuaded by teachers if it was desired, for example, to introduce handicrafts as an additional subject. For this purpose, the best arguments were to call attention to the results of school work, that is to say to display the handicraft products made by the pupils themselves.

If the Swedish Parliament adopted measures to improve (or not to improve) the elementary school, the directives were given final shape by the elementary school office in the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Instruction. The leading officials in that office were conservative and dogmatic Lutheran-Christians.

Otto Salomon had conservative leanings in politics, but as an educator he was progressive, even radical. He did not display this radicalism publicly, yet, even so, the leading officials in the elementary school office looked upon him and his work with suspicion.

This background is of significance in view of Salomon's and Abrahamson's roles in society and their achievements in education. These two Swedish Jews gave an important boost to in-service training at a time when no other further education was available for teachers. This occurred in a society that was dominated by the Lutheran church and its clergy, which, by controlling the elementary school system, looked upon it as a means of building up the realm in the Christian faith.

Handicrafts became the focus of attention. Salomon convinced the teachers who studied at Nääs that handicrafts were a crucial medium to transform the elementary school and to move away from mass education, which tended to

place too much emphasis on superficial knowledge. He aimed at individualized education adapted to the needs and interests of every child. Abrahamson maintained good relations with the king and had many other influential friends; this undoubtedly prevented the most conservative and religiously prejudiced groups from frustrating his activities in the field of education. Abrahamson and Salomon were sincere royalists and patriots, very anxious to demonstrate that they were good Swedish citizens. Both had ancestors who had been forced to migrate to Sweden seventy or eighty years earlier.

Salomon's method of educational instruction could be interpreted in some respects as undermining the ruling conservative view of the elementary school's purpose. He taught the course participants to think and act independently, to develop their own lessons and their self-confidence. These partly concealed intentions on Salomon's part were soon discovered, however, especially by educators abroad; and therefore it was no mere coincidence that the museum of education in Fribourg, Switzerland, wrote to Salomon after having received a set of handcrafted objects:

> It seems to us that nothing could be more persuasive than to be able to show our numerous visitors – with a view to influencing the teaching of manual work in Swiss schools – the complete collection of Swedish handicraft models executed at Nääs, the very centre of this movement which is transforming the popular school of both the Old and New Worlds.[2]

Salomon's basic educational ideas

Otto Salomon was able to read in their own languages the works of the great educators and philosophers who had approved of physical activity as a means of formative education. He drew his basic ideas from Comenius, Locke, Rousseau, Salzman, Pestalozzi, Fröbel, Cygneus and Spencer. Their essential ideas were gradually blended with Salomon's own experiences and adapted to the needs of his own time. Converting their theoretical ideas into educational practice, Salomon built up a system of efficient educational crafts that has been recognized as an important contribution to education.

Salomon looked upon the contemporary elementary school as being too theoretical – and even that in a most insubstantial way since factual knowledge was learned by heart and repeated. This rote learning of pure facts led to the children adopting negative attitudes towards the school and towards each other: vanity, arrogance and bullying behaviour were commonplace. The children also suffered from being seated for long periods without any physical activity.

A child has a desire for both knowledge and activity. These needs are met when manual work is introduced into the conventional school curriculum.

> If practical manual work is introduced, the matter is changed, for many who are dull when the head works without the hand, excel when the use of the hand is required as well as that of the head, as in handicrafts. Children who are naturally skilful and dexterous

when hand and head work together, although slow when the head works alone, have often more self-respect after discovering their power and skill; and if only one in 500 be so affected, even then the course would be worth introducing.[3]

It is crucial for the child to enjoy such labour. This educational aim can be achieved if the instruction is made interesting and varied. The child is improved by this activity and is motivated by the esteem of work done well. For small children, playing and working should develop together but, in the higher classes at school, handicraft activity should assume the character of real work.

Salomon was intrigued by the idea of making physical work an element in general education. He considered any person who did not have a sound training in general dexterity as only half-educated. We learn most effectively by activity – by doing things with our hands – and this knowledge should be acquired through self-education. Manual labour at school should provide an all-round education to everybody. Man is born with a number of undeveloped latent powers, aptitudes and qualities, which should be nurtured in a comprehensive and systematic way. As Salomon pointed out:

Education consists of the development of the powers and capabilities (psychical and physical) which have been given to man . . . The best educated man is he who has the greatest possible range of these powers (but especially the most essential and important among them) harmoniously developed to their utmost extent.[4]

According to Salomon, the will is more important than memory; moral and religious feelings are more important than muscular strength. The teacher must pay attention to achieving an appropriate balance between these powers in any individual's development. This balance changes from one phase of development to another.

The core of education is not limited to learning as such, but rather consists of developing the child *through* his or her own learning.

Salomon separated material education from formative education. The former can be acquired by knowledge and skills learned during the teaching of a school subject. The latter implies developing mental and physical powers, with the student receiving material instruction in a utilitarian way.

Real cultivation of the mind has nothing to do with learning vast amounts of facts. 'Education, cultivation of the mind, means what is left when we have forgotten what we learned in school.'[5]

As a logical consequence of this, Salomon wanted to reduce the number of subjects taught at school – he used the expression 'concentration of teaching'. His idea was that competence or profound knowledge is much more important than learning large quantities of facts and figures. What he sought to attain was development of the will, of morality and of interests. Development implies that the child is capable of solving problems at higher and more complex levels. If the child only learns large quantities of facts at school, he/she will be left with the same level of skills as before.

The teacher who concentrates on large amounts of factual knowledge during lessons will become neither an educator nor a teacher, but merely an instructor, filling up memories with facts like stuffing meat into sausages. Salomon tried to express what the child should become: 'For the cultivation of your mind, it is more important *what you are than how much you know*.'[6]

The training college at Nääs

Between 1880 and 1907 Salomon held courses in further education which were attended by about 4,000 Swedish teachers and 1,500 teachers from forty other countries. Each course lasted six weeks and four courses were arranged during the year. In the daily programme, there were six to seven hours of practical handicraft work and one or two hours of theoretical lectures and discussions. According to Salomon, the theory was more important than the craftwork. He lectured on educational history, crafts and handicraft teaching methods, but also on psychology, morals, hygiene and other subjects.

The remainder of a course-day was filled up with folk dancing, games and singing. There were cheerful parties and excursions. The combination of hard work and pleasant distractions, together with the beautiful scenery of the surroundings and the kind hospitality, formed the 'Nääs spirit' and often left happy memories of that event which remained with participants for the rest of their lives.

Salomon created what he called Swedish educational sloyd or Nääs-slöjd. Most important was *the system* – a number of principles or aims which should not to be changed.

The system of educational handicrafts included the following aims (numbers 1 to 8 are of a formative character, numbers 9 and 10 can be classified as utilitarian):

1. To instil a taste for and an appreciation of work in general.
2. To create a respect for hard, honest, physical labour.
3. To develop independence and self-reliance.
4. To provide training in the habits of order, accuracy, cleanliness and neatness.
5. To train the eye to see accurately and to appreciate the sense of beauty in form.
6. To develop the sense of touch and to give general dexterity to the hands.
7. To inculcate the habits of attention, industry, perseverance and patience.
8. To promote the development of the body's physical powers.
9. To acquire dexterity in the use of tools.
10. To execute precise work and to produce useful products.

Many, perhaps most, people never get an opportunity to do dovetailing, but every human being, man or woman, may acquire from it the habit of doing well whatever he/she is called upon to do.[7]

Salomon looked upon a 'method' as a regular and rational process for attaining a certain end. Because educational handicrafts should be a voluntary subject for both pupils and teachers, it was considered very important that both teachers and pupils should approve the method. The pupil must be attracted by the work. He/she must recognize that the objects being made serve a purpose and should be able to carry out all the steps to complete the activity, methodically and exactly – of course, each in accordance with his/her capabilities. Therefore, each person had to learn the exercises in a progressive order, starting from the easy stages and then going on to the more difficult ones, from simple to complex, and from the known to the unknown. Each child must be allowed to work at his/her own speed, proceeding from one activity to another, not being forced to hurry by faster workers and not being obliged to wait for slower ones. This means strictly individualized instruction, adjusted to the pupil's capabilities.

The teacher must be well-trained and should be capable of teaching both crafts and the 'theoretical' subjects in elementary school, so as to be able to have an overall view of each pupil's mental, physical and moral development. He/she must show tact when estimating the ability of any child, and the amount of accuracy and precision that can be expected of that child.

> If we do not teach handicrafts individually, it is not a means of education in its truest sense, since it has not been based on the nature of the child; and unless handicrafts be so based, they will soon lose their potent educational character.[8]

The teacher must give each individual the appropriate amount of instruction – not too much and not too little. He/she should guide, superintend and control the pupil in performing a task, but should guard against interfering with the working process.

> This tact is the measure not only of how much he shall demand from the children, but of how much he shall tell them, and how much he shall *not tell them.* The best teacher is the one that teaches least.[9]

> For the further development of self-reliance, the methods adopted by the teacher during the progress of the work may be arranged in three stages:
> 1. The early models should be subjected to the scrutiny of the teacher both as regards measurement and general form, with the pupils observing the methods and standards of exactness employed by the teacher, for by doing so they acquire knowledge of the degree of order, accuracy, neatness and precision required of them, at the same time finding out their own level of ability as they work on the models.
> 2. Having acquired this knowledge, the children should then rely upon themselves to carry out the measurements, and the teacher should confine his remarks to criticisms of the general form of the model . . . Measurement should be the first element upon which children learn to be self-reliant, by making a final and accurate decision on them themselves.
> 3. Children should determine everything for themselves, even determining when the model is completed with accuracy, order, precision and finish.[10]

The task must not be mechanical. At every stage in the process, the thinking powers of the pupil must be encouraged; craftwork requires total concentration and attention for its successful completion. 'The true stimulus to attention, we have said, is interest; the greater the interest, the greater the attention.'[11] The work must develop and strengthen bodily skills, and must develop the sense and appreciation of form.

> In elementary schools, children should receive the elements of an aesthetic education; until we have given these we must not try to advance. Objects badly made or badly proportioned, and yet nicely ornamented, are really exceedingly ugly. It is far more important that children should be able to judge when models are well-designed than to be able to decorate them.[12]

To make the pupil appreciate the work there must be variety – in the use of tools, in the practical working exercises, in the sizes and shapes of designs, and in the uses to which objects are put. Merely carrying out preparatory exercises will kill the pupil's interest; he/she should only perform exercises which result in the completion of useful objects.

It is not recommended that children should be carrying out work on different projects simultaneously since this would be counter-productive to the educational purpose and distract the pupil's attention. Salomon made a comparative study between metal-working, basket-making, straw-plaiting, book-binding, wood-working and other kinds of handiwork. From this analysis he came to the conclusion that wood-working (carpentry) was the most suitable craft to be taught in school to a boy or girl between the ages of 11 and 14.

The knife is the most important tool in educational sloyd. A carpenter almost never uses a knife – but the knife is the basic instrument of handicrafts. 'Again we begin with the knife because we consider it the easiest tool for children to employ, since they have already been in the habit of using it.'[13]

Sandpaper must be used as little as possible, because the dust can be dangerous to health. Otherwise it is useful to give a smooth finish and to remove the rough edges left by other tools. The children should use normal-sized tools in order to become used to working with them.

The exercises

Otto Salomon scrutinized craftwork and examined the production of objects in order to identify the 'more or less often recurring typical manners of working the material. A particular way of working the material with a certain aim in view is what in handicrafts is called an exercise.'[14] These exercises were arranged in a graded succession – from easy to more difficult. Among the first exercises were cutting, sawing, filing, planing and drilling. In the middle of the range we find fastening with screws, dovetailing and oblique chiselling. Finally, the exercise series was completed with techniques such as concealed tenoning.[15] In 1902, the number of exercises was reduced from eighty-seven to sixty-eight.

Salomon considered the term 'exercise' to be sufficient for heuristic purposes, but they were not the true elements of handicrafts:

> They themselves are only results and expressions of what may be called the fundamental manifestations of the work, physical and physiological conditions; this is to say that the achievement of a given exercise calls into play certain mental and physical powers.[16]

The child should manufacture a number of useful and serviceable objects – called models – arranged in a fixed series. These objects must not be so-called 'knick-knacks' or articles of luxury. In 1894 the number of models was reduced from fifty to forty. The children were supposed to complete this series of models in three school years.

Working with 'Model Number 1' (a brush handle), the pupil learned to apply the techniques in 'Exercises Numbers 1 and 2' (cutting along the grain and across the grain). Working with 'Model Number 2' (a pen holder), the pupil revised 'Exercises 1 and 2' and learned 'Numbers 3 and 4' (sawing and filing). And so on, until in making the last model – 'Number 40' (a table) – the pupil recapitulated twenty-four different exercises and learned the three last.

To many teachers, *making the models in the series* was the whole purpose. They may have taught their pupils to handle the tools and to make good and beautiful objects, but 'they didn't see' – they overlooked that the main purpose of the system was the development of the child, which was far more important than any actual craft skill or surface design.

> The objects which the child makes are as useful as those made by the carpenter; but, unlike the work of the carpenter, the value of the child's work does not exist in them, but in the child that made them.[17]

Because of this misunderstanding, Salomon started each course at Nääs by telling the participants that they could teach in accordance with the system without using a single Nääs model or they could, on the contrary, slavishly follow the model series in their instruction while knowing absolutely nothing about the system.[18] For the same reasons, Salomon was anxious to change the model series at frequent intervals.

> The exercises, then, form the foundation for the models, and not the models for the exercises. The models are but expressions of the principles, and in themselves are not handicrafts; and we shall do well if we can abstract the models in thought, and regard the series merely as a list of exercises.[19]

Salomon's influence

At the age of 25 Salomon wrote his first magazine articles on handicrafts: the subject was the programme for the vocational schools and the handicrafts training college at Nääs. Between 1876 and 1884, he published a series of small books called *Slöjdskolan och Folkskolan I-V* [Handicrafts School and Primary

School, I-V]. Some of them were translated into English, German and French. He described what had taken place earlier in manual skill training, and published his interpretation of the ideas he found in books written by Comenius, Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Fröbel and others. He described his first attempts at creating educational sloyd and emphasized that physical labour was an important means of educating in schools.

In the following books, *Om slöjden såsom uppfostringsmedel* [Woodworking as an Educational Method] (1884) and *Der Slöjd im Dienste der Schule* [Woodwork in the Service of the School] (Berlin, 1886), Salomon developed his message on formative education.

The most widely known books by Salomon are *Handbok i pedagogisk snickerslöjd* [Handbook on Educational Woodwork] (1890) and *The Theory of Educational Sloyd* (1891). Both have been translated into other languages. Together they give a complete picture of Swedish educational handicrafts at their peak, the golden decades of manual training in school.

From a social point of view, if we could get rid of the antagonism between different classes of the community and bring about mutual understanding between them, it is absolutely necessary that each should respect and appreciate the work of the other; and that everybody alike should understand that all work, mental or manual, confers dignity on all who engage intelligently and properly therein. All work, rightly so called, is good, honourable and valuable.[20]

Sloyd, then, belongs to formative education. It is an instrument whose sole use is the development of the mental, moral and physical strength of the child.

We cannot, however, provide training in habits of respect and love of labour, of attention, order and the like, without at the same time giving a knowledge of, and a dexterity in, the use of tools; but this is accidental rather than essential.

Handicrafts, properly taught, will be found to supply an educational value not furnished by the subjects usually taught in schools, and in that sense we regard its introduction as necessary.[21]

It belongs purely to general education, and should find its place in the secondary and elementary schools of the land. It is equally good and useful for everybody.[22]

A method might be compared to a sequence of harmonies, of which the consonance with reality must constantly be tested by the tuning fork of experience.[23]

To teach for life and not for school means that qualities valuable in life and not only in school are thoroughly learned.[24]

The 1890s were the most creative and productive years in Salomon's life. He published two selections of speeches, *Tankar om slöjd, uppfostran och lärarebildning* [Thoughts about Woodwork, Education and Teacher Training] (1893) and *Tal och föredrag* [Speeches and Lectures] (1899). Neither of them has ever been translated into other languages.

This general lack of translation may be the origin of negative criticisms. Salomon published his best and most penetrating articles in his own monthly

paper, *Slöjdundervisningsblad från Nääs* [Nääs Woodwork Instruction Sheet] (1885-1902). Later on, he made a selection of articles in *Pedagogiska frågor* [Educational Questions] (1905), but most of these articles were inaccessible to readers abroad. Despite these facts, the educational sloyd system was introduced or described in many countries and in different languages, while the underlying ideas and explanations were not available to readers outside Sweden.

August Abrahamson and his nephew Otto Salomon worked very conscientiously and energetically to spread the Nääs system of handicrafts to other countries. Abrahamson had the money required and the international contacts with his colleagues and friends – businessmen and Jews. Both of them could speak and write in German, English and French; both travelled abroad for one or two months every year – either working or on vacation.

The training college at Nääs was founded in 1875. Three years later Abrahamson and Salomon began to send model series made at Nääs to Germany, Switzerland and Brazil, and some years later to the United Kingdom and the United States. Supported by Swedish embassies in almost every European country, they invited civil servants from education authorities, politicians, professors and teachers to visit Nääs or to attend a course there. At the great world exhibitions Nääs had a showcase of its own: Philadelphia in 1876; Paris in 1878; Chicago in 1893; Paris again in 1900; St. Louis in 1904. Models, pictures and drawings from Nääs were shown at yet other international exhibitions: in Greece, Chile, Algeria and so on.

Invitations were accepted. Official delegations arrived at Nääs and were received in a most hospitable way: from Germany in 1880; France in 1882; Belgium in 1883; Russia in 1884; Chile in 1885; Italy in 1887; Japan in 1888; and from Argentina, Brazil, Bulgaria, Croatia, Hungary, Ireland, Romania, South Africa, Spain and Uruguay in the 1890s. These official delegations were followed by visits from teachers. Very often, interested teachers attended courses without preliminary official contacts. In this way about forty nations had been represented at Nääs by 1907, the year Salomon died.

Some of the course participants became so interested in educational sloyd that they translated the main principles into their own languages and published articles or books written by Salomon. Others were asked or persuaded by Salomon to do translations for him. In some cases, Salomon arranged for the texts to be composed – in Sweden or abroad – and paid for the printing. A lot of the foreigners became devoted followers of Salomon, lecturing and writing articles on educational handicrafts in their own countries and, of course, they introduced such instruction in their schools.

Salomon maintained an enormous correspondence, with many thousands of letters going to and coming from interested persons on all continents. The influence of Salomon and educational handicrafts manifested itself in many European countries, especially the United Kingdom, as well as in North and South America, whereas teachers in Germany, France and Denmark had their

own variants of manual training and were not so interested in Salomon's ideas and accomplishments.

Salomon criticized

Salomon and the Nääs system were criticized in Sweden and abroad for the over-simplified design of the models and the selection of objects to be made. It was for this reason that Salomon advised British teachers to design models of their own which would be more common and applicable in their own country. Russia and Germany already had strong traditions in wood-carving which were not influenced at all by Nääs.

In some countries, authorities and craftsmen objected to the danger to children of using the tools recommended for educational handicrafts. Some British crafts teachers did not allow their pupils to work with knives. In Romania the crafts teachers could not purchase the correct knives; they had to order them from Nääs. The use of sandpaper drew adverse comments from many members of school boards for health reasons; they considered inhaling the dust to be a health hazard.

In the United States opponents asked for more draughtsmanship in handicrafts instruction. They also demanded a series of lessons with fewer models and more rapidity in the learning of skills.

But most fateful for the educational handicrafts movement was the critique that set in motion its decline in the United States, the United Kingdom and other countries at the turn of the century. Professor Stanley Hall and Colonel Francis Parker characterized the *slöjd* system as hypermethodic and tyrannic, with its rigid course of models. They and others asked for creativity and training in the powers of imagination, for co-ordination between manual training and art, and for instruction based on projects for the children.

Some conclusions

Analyzing the handicrafts taught at Naäs enables us to reach certain conclusions:

- The slöjd method of educational handicrafts required individual teaching. If we look upon handicrafts as a formative *means of education*, it cannot be applied in class teaching.
- The teacher must pay attention to the child's reactions, behaviour and development. The child must be the focus of attention, and not the tools, the techniques or the products. *What is happening to the child during the work process* should be the principal interest.
- While Salomon placed high demands on the teacher, who had always to focus on the behaviour and development of the child, he was, at the same time, optimistic and encouraging. One of his aims was to strengthen the self-confidence of teachers.

– Many of Salomon's ideas were very common in the nineteenth century, for example the theory of formative education. But Salomon put his ideas in a structure of his own and gave them complex new ingredients. He and other handicrafts teachers turned rough labour into a means of formative education. He transformed educational ideas into working instructions.

In the 1880s, manual training was introduced in elementary schools (and even in secondary schools) in the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany and in other countries which were among the first to be industrialized. Pioneer countries with compulsory manual training in schools were Finland (1866) and France (1882). Over a period of two decades, from 1885 to 1905, Swedish educational handicrafts were very influential all over the world. But when Salomon died in 1907 manual training in school was already being influenced by new ideas. Nevertheless, his name and theories are remembered in countries like the United States, Japan, Germany and the United Kingdom. Thus, it could be said that an international Salomon heritage does exist.

In Sweden the situation developed in its own peculiar way. At the Nääs training college another 5,000 to 7,000 teachers received instruction until 1966, when the activity was transferred to Linköping. But Salomon was forgotten. His name and ideas are now hardly ever mentioned in the training of crafts teachers. However, it is perhaps possible to note a change that has taken place since 1990; interest in Salomon is now increasing. Swedish handicrafts and Swedish elementary schools owe him a lot!

Otto Salomon already realized what was going to happen. In 1903 he wrote the following about the Nääs system of educational handicrafts:

> I see such a system as a casting mould – necessary during the process of casting, but which ought to be thrown away and dismantled when the work-of-art has been cast. I believe that the so-called 'Näas-system' has had its day; it lies in the past, not in the present, still less in the future. While most of the principles have become so universal that they are stated to be self-evident, even by persons who certainly would not like to promote anything that comes out of Näas, there is no further need for a 'Naäs-system' in the domain of manual training.
>
> May it die and may it rest in peace! I will not be found among the mourners. I have long ago lost my belief in systems within the Art of Education, and believe now only in personalities.[25]

Notes

1. My thanks go to Hans Joachim Reincke, Wildhausen, Germany, who read and commented upon the manuscript before publication.
2. Letter of 24 October 1900. Archives of A. Abrahamson Foundation, EIII:28, Göteborgs landsarkiv.
3. Otto Salomon, *The Theory of Educational Slöjd*, Rev. and Ed. by Charles Neville, London, 1892, p. 47.
4. Otto Salomon, 'Manual training'. An Address to the National Union of Teachers, London, 1890, p. 6.

5. Otto Salomon, *Pedagogiska frågor* [Educational Questions], 1905, p. 10. [Author's translation.]
6. Ibid., p. 10. [Author's translation.]
7. *Hand and Eye* (London, Newmann), July 1895, p. 252.
8. *The Theory of Educational Slöjd*, op. cit., p. 63.
9. Ibid., p. 14.
10. Ibid., p. 32-33.
11. Ibid., p. 45.
12. Ibid., p. 38.
13. Ibid., p. 11.
14. *Hand and Eye*, August 1894, p. 254-55.
15. Charles Bennett, *History of Manual and Industrial Education, Vol. 2, 1870 to 1917*, Peoria, Ill., 1937, p. 72, 82.
16. *Hand and Eye*, August 1894, p. 255.
17. *The Theory of Educational Slöjd*, op. cit., p. 2.
18. *Slöjdundervisningsblad från Nääs* [Nääs Woodwork Instruction Sheet], 1888, No. 6.
19. *The Theory of Educational Slöjd*, op. cit., p. 26.
20. Ibid., p. 28.
21. Ibid., p. 3-4.
22. Ibid., p. 5.
23. *Hand and Eye*, May 1894, p. 172.
24. *Hand and Eye*, July 1895, p. 252.
25. Otto Salomon, *The 'Nääs System' and the Nääs Models*, Conference Handbook, London, 1903, p. 75-76.

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DOMINGO FAUSTINO SARMIENTO[1]

(1811–88)

Héctor Félix Bravo

The origin of his views on education

Domingo Sarmiento's socially-oriented education may, without a doubt, be traced back to the adverse circumstances that hampered his own education and the disastrous situation prevailing in Argentina as a result of economic and cultural deprivation. His reading and travel for study purposes exposed him to theories which strengthened those views.

It is not my intention here to make an exhaustive list of the authors who inspired Sarmiento's thinking, still less to indicate how much influence each one had. Suffice it to say that those authors included Locke, Rousseau, Montesquieu, Tocqueville, Condorcet, Leroux, Guizot, Cousin and others who came in the wake of the Enlightenment, *encyclopédisme* and romanticism. However, we are bound to stress that the ideas put forward by Condorcet on the state's duty to provide each and every individual with education to ensure full spiritual, political, economic and social development through effective de facto equality and the institutionalization of secularism, and those of Guizot, the main proponent in France of mass education which should be free of charge and allow freedom of conscience, made a very important contribution to the educational theory and practice of the 'Schoolmaster of America'. His humanitarian views were also largely influenced by the ideas of Horace Mann, the reformer from Massachusetts, who promoted universal education – compulsory, non-sectarian and free – which sought to encourage civic virtues and social efficiency.

But the observations made during his study tours exerted the strongest influence on the development of Sarmiento's educational philosophy. This is borne out by the fact that the ideas he defends in *De la educación popular* [On Popular Education] – reporting on his tours of inspection from 1845 to 1847 – encapsulate the themes developed and repeated subsequently during his lengthy career as a journalist and teacher. During his stay in Europe, which encompassed visits to France, Prussia, Switzerland, Italy, Spain and England, he was able to

learn about and assess new educational methods and procedures, interesting experiments in special education, advanced teacher-training institutions and modern systems of school organization. His two visits to the United States gave him an opportunity for direct contact with a highly progressive education movement, which was influenced to a great extent by Pestalozzian ideas and accordingly had its roots deep in the community.

Civilization and public education

Barbarism and despotism, with ignorance, poverty, anarchy and fanaticism in their train, were in Sarmiento's view Argentina's legacy of social ills. He explained the origin of these evils in demographic terms, approaching the problem from two different angles. The explanation he gave in *Facundo (Civilización y barbarie: vida de Juan Facundo Quiroga* [Civilization and Barbarism: The Life of Juan Facundo Quiroga]) is quantitative – depopulation, but in *Conflicto y armonías de las razas en América* [Racial Conflict and Harmony in America], qualitative – the formation of ethnic groups.

The wilderness, whose beauty was revealed by Argentine Romantic writers, was one of Sarmiento's images in his social projections. Desolation, which is opposed to positive political relations, economic interests and cultural stimuli, was the symbol of ignorance and anarchy. As Guerrero (1945) neatly put it: 'Sarmiento realized that the wilderness was full of barbarism.' There is no doubt today that the dialectical approach of *Civilización y barbarie* led, *inter alia*, to one serious error: it sought to explain Argentine civil strife in absolute terms, as the countryside rising up against the cities, and saw the military leaders as products of the rural environment. We know that they were city men; but we also know that they recruited horsemen from the countryside to fight their political battles. Viewing the issue in relative terms, however, we can agree with Sarmiento that the urban civilization existed in contrast to the barbarism of the countryside; for even though the military, the clergy and the academics were those who promoted anarchy, they found their troops of mounted rebels among the wanderers in the desert.

His book *Conflicto y armonías de las razas en América* explains the origin of social evils from an ethnic point of view. In that book, Sarmiento claims that the ignorance of the mass of the people, political anarchy (with its attendant corruption of democratic institutions), slow economic development and cultural deprivation all stem from two factors: the Spanish legacy and miscegenation with indigenous peoples. To prove his point, he compares the results of Spanish colonization with those of English colonization. The difference in development between Latin America and North America is, in Sarmiento's opinion, the result of a difference of civilization and, more importantly, the result of discrepancies in economic development between Spain and England, which were reproduced in their respective American colonies.

The second part of the book asserts the moral superiority of the Protestant over the Catholic world, a superiority which he claims derives from the importance of free thinking and greater cultivation of personal dignity in the Protestant world, which fulfilled the necessary conditions for free institutions and democratic systems to flourish.

Fortunately, however, those evils are not irremediable, and he recommends three solutions: European immigration, work and public education – the most important of those being education.

With the passion of an apostle and the conviction of a visionary, he proclaimed the absolute value of education. In *Análisis de las cartillas, silabarios y otros métodos de lectura* [Analysis of Primers, Readers and Other Methods of Reading], which he published in Chile in 1842 in his capacity as director of the teacher-training college, he claimed: 'Primary education is the measure of a people's civilization.' But it was in *De la educación popular* that he presented, for the first time in specific terms, his full programme of civilization through education. In his later work, admittedly, he did no more than elaborate on and repeat – with a teacher's insistence – the ideas defended in the 1848 report. Civilization could not be the preserve of a few. It required each citizen to be suitably trained to discharge the functions incumbent upon him or her in the Republic. The word 'civilization', which was included in the dictionary of the French Academy in 1798 and in that of the Royal Spanish Academy in 1822, is not used by Sarmiento – as some believe – in a strictly materialistic sense, or in the unique modern sense of 'mastery over technology'.

A man of action, an achiever and a builder, Sarmiento worked and fought to put his doctrine into practice, but without detriment to morality and spiritual values. Ample proof of this is afforded, primarily, by his fundamental interest in educational issues; secondly, by his own life, which shows him to be a model of lofty thinking; and lastly, by his clear definitions. In *Viajes* [Journeys] he wrote:

> The greatest number of known truths is merely knowledge as it stands at one period of time; but the civilization of a people can be characterized only by possession on as large a scale as possible of all the fruits of the earth for use by all intelligent beings, and of all material forces for the convenience, pleasure and moral improvement of the greatest possible number of individuals.

As we can see, this concept is not coextensive with usefulness. He did not, in fact, distinguish between civilization and culture, as this distinction belongs to the modern philosophy of culture, but this confirms rather than contradicts our earlier interpretation.

He conceived of civilization as having the breadth attributed to it by the members of the Constituent Assembly in 1853, and not in the limited sense with which it was viewed in Argentina after 1880. To civilize, in Sarmiento's view, was to make provision for those things that would lead to the prosperity of the country as a whole and to progress in all the provinces, such as the introduction of the legislation and regulations necessary in order to create a state under the rule

of law, the encouragement of immigration, the building of railways, the occupation of state-owned land, the introduction and establishment of new industries, the influx of foreign capital, etc. But it also meant attending to the advancement of culture by organizing public education and guaranteeing the welfare and freedom of each and every inhabitant, and the sovereignty of the Republic, as stipulated by the Constitution.

Sarmiento was both a man of action and an idealist. He tackled the great task of transforming the country, gripped as it was by anarchy and barbarism, in the conviction that progress, built on ethical foundations, would bring happiness to the Argentine people. But, as Mantovani (1950) pointed out,

> Progress cannot be achieved on the basis of reason, as the thinkers of the Enlightenment supposed, nor can it be imposed from above by governmental decree. It must be the outcome of a process of development over time, whose main purpose is to educate the people and create new customs; in a nutshell, to civilize the people.

Just as he did not formulate a complete and coherent educational philosophy, Sarmiento refrained from giving an all-round definition of education. Admittedly, he never set out to found or develop a system of general education; all his concerns in this field were focused on one specialized area, namely, the politics of education, or, better still, educational policy. The favourite theme of his educational theories and books was therefore public education, whose purpose was – in his own words – 'to train individuals to use their intelligence through basic knowledge of the sciences and of the fundamental facts that shape the intellect'. We therefore have a concept of public education, which, combined with other ideas taken from different works, may reasonably be summed up as follows: the objective of public education is to improve, intellectually, physically and morally, the largest and poorest class of society, by providing it with training so that it may participate in cultural progress.

Sarmiento wanted to improve social conditions in the community by means of educational action, spearheaded by the state. But that educational action, designed primarily to raise intellectual capacity through science, would benefit the dispossessed or disregarded bulk of the population, and would no longer be a privilege of the dominant groups. 'What we need, first of all, is to become civilized: not the 200 individuals who attend classes, but the 200,000 who do not even go to school.' This was the basis of Sarmiento's passion for primary schooling, which he called 'mass education', 'national education' or 'general education'.

Democracy and mass education

To grasp the full extent of Sarmiento's educational philosophy, we must take account of the state of education during his lifetime and even during the colonial period.

At the time of publication of *De la educación popular* (which, for reasons given earlier, I shall use as a point of comparison), universal primary education was far from being a reality in any part of the world, much less a generally accepted idea. Only in Prussia and cities in the eastern and southern United States was democratic education considered to be an obligation for the state and for the people. The conditions of peace and social progress required for this kind of work did not exist in the Latin American nations which had just emerged from the wars of independence to plunge immediately into the chaos of civil strife and tyranny.

This disparity could not continue much longer without seriously endangering the institutional, economic and social development of the nation. With the clear vision of a statesman aware of the full importance of this fearsome problem, he fought valiantly to impose social justice. The example of the United States spurred him on to his great decision and provided him with evidence to support his arguments.

A republican and democratic system of government requires a well-informed citizenry, without class distinctions, which means that all citizens should be granted equality of opportunity. Sarmiento showed that he perfectly understood this concept – upheld subsequently by the Supreme Court of Argentina in many rulings, as the criterion of equality before the law – when he wrote:

> The equality proclaimed by our institutions is not – as certain people absurdly seem to think – some illusory equality of education and ability among all concerned, nor is it the equal distribution of property; it merely implies that the law does not distinguish one person from another, leaving this up to nature and fate: it means that the aim of all institutions should be the moral, intellectual and physical improvement of the largest and poorest social class.

His ideas, which won him enormous prestige as the 'Schoolmaster of America', were without any doubt progressive for his time, but some of them no longer stand up to scrutiny today. No democratic education is conceivable nowadays which fails to take into consideration the solutions that special education and social welfare can provide. In particular, it is indispensable to remove disparities caused by deprived socio-cultural backgrounds and detrimental to intellectual development, which presupposes that the economic and social situation of backward communities must be improved.

Sarmiento's great concern, his greatest passion in life, was to educate the people, all the inhabitants of Argentina, raise their spiritual and economic levels and thus secure the development of a free and sovereign nation. Mass education was the heart and soul of his work and was the title of his most widely read, and probably his favourite, book, *De la educación popular*. His assessment of the situation in the most progressive countries visited led him to write that 'there is in the Christian world, albeit in scattered corners, a comprehensive system of *mass education* which starts in the cradle, gets under way in the nursery, con-

tinues at primary school and is rounded off by reading, which encompasses all human existence'.

This programme of renewal could be implemented only through primary education, which Sarmiento also called 'general education'. In a profoundly revolutionary manner, he advocated education open to all, that is, without discrimination as to race, sex, economic status, social rank, political views or religious beliefs. He was thus a pioneer, at the right time, in the struggle for non-sectarian education, or education free of all religious dogma or segregation on similar grounds. Sarmiento devoted his life to the development of this form of education. He wrote memorable pages to give wider currency to this idea. In 1856, he submitted to the University Council of Chile a report on general education. A century later, it would make worthwhile reading for all who are unaware of the influence of public education on industry and on the general growth of national prosperity. With equal dedication, he launched the *Anales de la educación común* [Chronicle of Communal Education] in Buenos Aires, in 1858, a periodical to promote an educational philosophy based substantially on the French 'mixed-ability teaching' movement, achieving positive results which outstripped the latter.

In keeping with the medieval tradition inherited from Spain and Italy, public education in Argentina up to Sarmiento's time was characterized by the predominance of university or higher education over primary education. The author of *Educar al soberano* [Educating the Leader] reacted against this situation, opting to follow the examples of the United States and Prussia. He advocated the democratic rather than the aristocratic system, upholding the principles valued at the time: 'primary schooling for all; fee-paying secondary schooling for those who can afford it; university for those who want it'. He considered, and rightly so, that universities should be like cornices crowning the edifice of public education, with primary schools as the supporting columns. The real culture and civilization of a people could not reside in a few hundred privileged persons on the one hand and the ignorant, dispossessed masses on the other. This irksome inequality stood out in the review of the public education budget, as may be seen from a letter to Rojas Paul:

> The Congress of the Argentine Republic allocates 100,000 pesos to schools in which 400,000 children are to be educated, and 280,000 pesos to fee-paying secondary schools where only 1,500 are to be educated, and no one knows why these latter children are given so much more than the others.

Sarmiento understood what the most pressing educational need was. It was necessary to teach the masses to read rather than launch sophisticated cultural and specialized projects. For that reason he said:

> I do not regard education above the primary level as being a means of civilization. It is primary education that civilizes and develops the people's moral fibre. All peoples have always had their learned elders and sages, without being civilized. Primary schools are therefore the very basis of civilization.

No one studying Sarmiento's educational policy in a dispassionate manner could infer from the opinions quoted above that he was against higher education. They are merely the fruit of a particular political and social outlook and of innovative views on the position of the university in Argentina.

Secular education

Sarmiento considered that education in Argentina should be secular. Factors on which social progress depended, cultural factors and the requirements of democratic and republican systems of government made this a necessity. Hence his impassioned and often virulent campaign for secular education, waged in the *El Nacional* newspaper first of all on the occasion of the 1882 Congress on Education and then during the debates in parliament on the bill that became law two years later.

Of course, this attitude does not imply atheism or that he was opposed to religion as a supreme ideal. Proof of his Christian views and respect for religion is to be found in various educational actions such as the distribution to Chilean schoolchildren of *La conciencia de un niño* [The Child's Conscience] (a book containing Catholic teaching and prayers) and *La vida de Jesucristo* [The Life of Jesus Christ] (an explanatory account of the Gospels), and recurrent examples to be found in *La escuela sin la religión de mi mujer* [School without My Wife's Religion] and many other books. But the great Sarmiento never tried to confuse anyone by using the term 'Christian' in the limited sense of a person professing the Catholic religion. On the contrary, his position on the subject was perfectly clear. He honoured Jesus Christ and praised the doctrine of the Protestant Church which espoused the principles of tolerance, freedom and social progress while combating religious education and Catholic theology in the interests of modern science and national progress.

Another aspect of his arguments in defence of secular education was based on the sound legal foundations of existing law. Interpreting correctly the clauses of the Constitution, and having amassed plentiful constitutional precedents, he ably defended the need for secular education. On this subject, he wrote 'La escuela ultrapampeana' [approximating to The Veritable Pampas School] and many articles published in Volume 47 of his *Obras* [Works]. Secularism, characteristic of the Argentine school system and based on the principles of the 1853 Constitution, is a sign of freedom, while the doctrine that seeks to impose religious education in public schools is anti-freedom. Furthermore, as the mixed system promotes the development of private institutes, whether denominational or not, parents can exercise their right to choose the type of education that they prefer for their children. Obviously, state secular education is not a means of forming dogmatic, conformist attitudes, still less of creating élites which facilitate the activities of certain power groups.

Teacher training

With apostolic ardour, Sarmiento, who became a teacher while he was still an adolescent at a time when the profession was viewed with disdain, preached about the social usefulness and supreme importance of the teaching profession. He was convinced that the schoolteacher was the person working most actively for the nation's advancement.

He was the founding director of the training college for primary-school teachers in Chile (the first establishment of its kind in South America and also one of the first in the world), while in Argentina he promoted teacher training as being in the national interest and set up the teacher-training courses and establishments that were essential to his civilization programme.

His action for the advancement of the teaching profession was supplemented by the organization of vacation courses for school-teachers, the first of which was held in 1854, under his guidance, in Santiago, Chile. He launched the *Monitor de la escuela* [The School Monitor] in Santiago in 1852 and, in Buenos Aires, in 1858, the *Anales de la educación común*, which he edited as head of the Schools Department. These publications marked the beginning of the educational press in South America.

Other achievements

The opening of public libraries was inspired by similar democratic principles, as he considered that education would be impossible without libraries. 'Civilization in [Latin] America is to be achieved by linking schools to books', he said. For that reason, he created mobile public libraries and never faltered in this endeavour, although he knew that some of them met with a sorry fate.

As it was necessary to remedy, if only in part, previous governments' neglect of education, Sarmiento promoted evening classes for adults and schools for soldiers. Similarly, he took the view that the state and landowners had an obligation to set aside two hours of the working day for labourers and workers to receive instruction.

His social policy programme aimed to set up state nurseries – such as the ones that had won his admiration in France – educational savings banks and schools for the handicapped and mentally retarded. He put his ideas into practice when he became President of the Republic. Thus, winning the hard battle against all types of adversity, he implemented his plan to help the people through education. He founded five national secondary schools and several types of technical establishment at different levels, each paying due regard to the economic needs of the region. He set up teaching farms for agricultural experimentation. He promoted scientific research with leading institutions such as the academies, the Faculty of Exact, Physical and Natural Sciences of the University of Córdoba and the Astronomical Observatory also in Córdoba, and arranged for the services of scientists from the United States and Germany to be supplied under contract. He

increased the number of advisory bodies and laboratories for the purposes of educational renewal; and set up museums. He founded the military and naval academies, thereby improving cultural and technical standards in those professions. He allocated funds for the establishment of seminaries, and took the decision to organize the country's first educational census. The list could continue.

Women's education

Until the middle of the last century, most women in Argentina had led sedentary, not to say vegetative, lives cloistered in their homes dedicated exclusively, at best, to domestic work. They were therefore cut off from cultural affairs, a situation exacerbated by strict religious observance and aggressive ignorance. It was therefore obvious that as long as women remained in this social situation civilization would stop at the front door of the family home.

The influence of women on the development of the Latin American nations was an issue of great concern to the 'Schoolmaster', as evidenced by the foundation in 1938 of the Colegio Santa Rosa, a boarding-school for girls, in San Juan. When he became President of the Republic, one of his first deeds was to set up training colleges for women teachers. The involvement of women in educational work meant that the home, the school and society were united in the same civilizing task. Thus a great battle for intellectual freedom was won.

To borrow Abraham Lincoln's famous words, Sarmiento did more than anyone else to introduce 'education of the people, by the people and for the people' into Argentina:

Education of the people: he considered that education was a social function and argued against certain theological and political principles that held sway in a society still strongly attached to class distinctions and the teachings of the Church. Implicit in that idea were the right and duty of the people to be educated, in a situation of equality of opportunity, and the corresponding obligation of the state to make provision for meeting that need in keeping with the principle of freedom of education, in the republican and democratic sense.

Education by the people: he campaigned for greater involvement of the people in the administration, inspection and general running of education. He considered that school inspection bodies should be set up, composed of people's committees, university rectors or their deputies, municipal authorities and a technical representative of central government, in order to improve education and promote it in every community.

Education for the people: Sarmiento's educational philosophy was based on a lofty conception of human nature. He believed equally strongly in the system of government adopted in 1810, whose effective continuation depended directly on the development of mass education. 'The word ' democracy" is a sick joke', he claimed, 'when the government defers or neglects its task of training upright and intelligent citizens.'

Development and national education

The national challenge of the century in which he lived was to organize on new lines a people that had recently gained its independence. This meant phasing out antiquated institutions and customs based on privilege, political corruption and obscurantism, and thereby strengthening human rights and promoting general well-being by encouraging social responsibility and the spirit of nationhood. Sarmiento's major task was therefore to root out individualism and other social ills as a sine qua non for the development of a strong national consciousness. However, this community ideal which he set out to achieve – after his predecessors, one after the other, had failed – was not an unattainable dream, but a feasible undertaking. Sarmiento was not disappointed, as Moreno and Rivadavia were, regarding the issue of national sentiment; this was because he had his finger on the people's pulse. Accordingly, instead of applying abstract models that could not be adapted to the society's specific characteristics, and with the inspiration of a prophetic mind, he gradually built up the nation out of mud bricks moulded with his own hands, fashioned from the living reality of his own time and place.

Sarmiento saw the problems of development and how they were linked to the formation of national awareness in terms of these questions, which are still burning issues today. He expressed his views on the matter in several books, including *De la educación popular* and in greater detail on the subject of development in his *Educación común (Memoria)* [Report on Communal Education], submitted to the University Council of Chile in 1856, in which he contends that national primary education is a necessary condition of industrial development, since there is no doubt that it promotes better habits, raises moral standards and, in the long term, contributes to general prosperity. He considered that a country's future depended on social development, and more particularly on education.

The country's wide open spaces, sparsely populated in spite of its potential wealth, contributed fundamentally to isolation and barbarism. The wilderness therefore seemed to be both the cause and the expression of a primitive life-style, hostile to useful work and to any sign of social progress. But, Sarmiento considered: 'The pampas are not, as some claim, doomed to providing fodder for animals, for in a few years' time, here and throughout Argentina, they should become the home of free hard-working and happy people.' To make this prediction come true, it was necessary not only to populate the wilderness, but also to change the system of land tenure by combating the *latifundia* (large ranches), the source of extreme poverty, ignorance and tyranny. Agrarian reform was therefore a basic theme of his civilizing programme. Following in Rivadavia's footsteps, although using different methods, he embarked on the difficult venture of dividing up the land as the sole means of populating the open spaces, increasing output and making educational assistance work.

Unfortunately, such an ambitious venture could not succeed, owing to opposition from a combination of unsavoury vested interests whose resistance

was then, as it is now, insurmountable. Sarmiento's views in this regard therefore have the force of a lasting injunction to present and future generations to ensure that social development is achieved through agrarian reform and education.

Earlier, we saw that the lines of action recommended by Sarmiento for tackling the country's social ills were public education, work and immigration from Europe. This last was to lead to the regeneration of the initial Spanish-indigenous stock, and to a salutary assimilation of the culture and productivity of the more civilized European nations.

It did not, however, escape his keen intelligence that the much desired immigration might cause traditional society to be replaced by an artificial society, in which

> . . . those people whose intellectual and industrial capabilities have not been prepared by education for the driving force of progress and change that will occur in society will gradually fall to the lowest levels of the society; thousands of parents who today enjoy an advantageous social position may thus be forewarned that the activities and the greater purchasing power of the new arrivals may, within a relatively short time, cause their children to fall to the lowest classes of society.

This remedy for Argentine social ills therefore posed at the same time the serious problem of the possible loss of the national character. We shall now see how this new danger was avoided by mass education, introduced by Sarmiento.

He called primary education 'national education' because the greatness and the future of the country, and the safeguarding of traditional values, depended on as much education as possible being given to the greatest number of citizens within the shortest possible time, through the simultaneous efforts of the state and parents. That was his reason for preferring this level of education to higher education. Of course, it did not blind him to the merits of secondary and higher education in developing general prosperity through the raising of the people's moral standards. But primary education provided by the state for every child of school age, without discrimination on social, economic, political or religious grounds, was the strongest guarantee of national unity.

Harbinger of social education

On occasion, Sarmiento claimed to be a socialist. Obviously, he used the word 'socialism' as opposed to individualism as he believed in social progress based on intellectual freedom.

It would be more correct to say that, while making no systematic claim to do so, Sarmiento formulated an education policy of a social character, foreshadowing the educational theories whose philosophical foundations were laid by Durkheim and Natorp. He saw education as a dynamic force acting on society and changing it in all its aspects. Basically, he considered that its task was to give a structure to democracy. Education was the people's right and, at the same time, it was a duty incumbent on the state and on society. Its objectives

were to raise the level of instruction of all individuals trained for social functions, eradicate tyranny and ensure equality. These are the main lines of emphasis of the policy-based educational theory to be found in *De la educación popular* and other books of a complementary character written later. Rather, they amount to an education policy with a clearly social and progressive bias, set forth in the form of practical rules and concrete solutions in these books and carried into effect when he became a statesman. Sarmiento's concern with educational problems was such that it could certainly not be satisfied merely by giving currency to his educational views: accordingly, suiting his action to his words, he translated his ideas into schemes and projects of a truly social character.

The promise he made to Mansilla just before taking up the office of President of the Republic, namely 'I promise that I will roll the stone up the mountain', was fulfilled throughout his lifetime. Sarmiento worked unremittingly. His books and innovations followed one another in a steady stream, conquering the indifference or ill-will of the ruling class and resistance arising from the low level of social development. In the field of education, in particular, he struggled to mould favourable public opinion, on which the success of his efforts depended. The law on universal, compulsory, free and secular primary education owes its enactment to his tenacity and great gifts of persuasion. This is how primary education came to boost participation by the community, since the community saw primary schools as having the greatest economic and social multiplier effects. It was this widely and passionately held conviction that made it possible for mass education to reach the level of development that it has attained in Argentina. Sarmiento wrote: 'General education comes from the heart of the people in the community, and if they neither nurture nor desire it, it will always be like a stunted plant, growing on stony ground and unable to propagate itself.'

Warmly supported by the people and by the ceaseless toil of dedicated teachers who owed their training to him, Sarmiento put into practice his social doctrine, which was established as the foundation and guarantee of national development. State education in Argentina is the highest expression of his political design and the most outstanding example of a promise kept by a man who sought power in order to implement principles that the entire nation shares today. The maxim implicit in Sarmiento's education policy is thus a watchword for the people's representatives: *to govern is to educate.*

Notes

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Educational works by Domingo Sarmiento

The works of Sarmiento are contained in the fifty-two volumes of: *Obras completas* [Complete Works]. Santiago de Chile and Buenos Aires, 1886-1903. Various researchers have subsequently found other texts by this prolific writer. The most significant texts on education can be found in Vols. 4, 5, 7, 11, 12, 13, 28, 30, 38, 44, 47 and 48. The index is contained in Volume 53. The most significant texts are:

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Other relevant texts are:

Bibliotecas populares [Popular Libraries]. Vol. 30. Buenos Aires, 1899.

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ANTÓNIO SÉRGIO

(1883–1969)[1]

António Nóvoa

António Sérgio de Sousa[2] was one of the most influential intellectuals in the culture and politics of twentieth-century Portugal. A philosopher and journalist, sociologist and essayist, he was particularly noted for his work as an educationist:[3] 'Sérgio's philosophy, like that of the Greeks, was essentially a social theory of education, or, to put it more correctly, a παιδεία' (Magalhães-Vilhena, 1975, p. 97). The academic training and professional career of António Sérgio were marked by extraordinary diversity, with education playing an integrating role: 'I do not consider myself to be a literary hack or a writer, but an educationist or a moralist who writes' (1940).[4] In 1958, when asked whether he would rather be known as a teacher, writer, economist or sociologist, he replied without hesitation: 'Maybe as a philosopher, sociologist and social reformer . . . and an educationist.'

Strictly speaking, António Sérgio had no detailed educational agenda. His work is not outstanding for technicalities or method, but rather for the mental ability to project education beyond the specific field of teaching. He belonged to a generation of intellectuals who were true scholars, endowed with a broad historical, philosophical and literary culture and able to see the overall picture of the major issues facing society.

However, unlike some of his contemporaries, Sérgio did not consider specific teaching problems to be beneath him. Education was not the mere (instrumental) extension of a wider philosophy. It was the kernel of his vision of society:

> Everything comes down to one problem: the question of education, the public education system. It is, above all else, both a theoretical issue and a practical issue. Addressing the problem accurately implies drawing on all the resources of a nation [1918*a*, p. 43].

Born in Damão (a Portuguese colony in India at the time), António Sérgio went through childhood without schooling, which, in his opinion, did him no harm at all, even from a purely academic point of view:

> Until I was nearly 10 years old (and even at the age of 10), I had no experience of school. After my subsequent arrival in Portugal, I was able to prepare myself rapidly for the elementary school examination for entrance to the Military College. I quickly found my feet and rose to be top of the class, which proves that my class-mates' previous schooling did not give them any particular advantage. I will not go into the educational problems implied by such a case (*Autobiography*).[5]

Having chosen a career in the armed forces, Sérgio soon lost interest in military affairs: the Republican Revolution of 1910 only hastened his decision to leave the Navy. He then went on a series of journeys to different destinations, including Brazil. Very significant was his stay in Geneva (1914-16) where he attended the Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau; he developed the core of his vision of education in that crucible of the New Education. The first part of this paper will attempt to describe Sérgio's time in Geneva and to indicate the sources of his educational thought.

At the beginning of the 1920s, Sérgio settled in Portugal, where he had an opportunity to put some of his ideas for reform into practice. At the time, the group to which he belonged, A Seara Nova (New Harvest), exerted considerable influence on culture and politics. Sérgio was Minister of Education for a brief period and played a key role throughout the 'springtime of educational theory', notably as head of the Portuguese section of the International League for the New Education. The second section of this paper will deal with his activities for social reform through education.

In 1926, a military dictatorship was set up in Portugal, a prelude to the authoritarian and totalitarian regime of the 'New State'. Before long, António Sérgio was forced into exile. He worked both in the political opposition and as an essayist, systematizing a set of thoughts which included educational issues. Back in Portugal in the mid-1930s, education faded as the focus of his civic vocation; this makes Sérgio virtually indistinguishable from the founders of the New Education, for whom by this time education was no longer the launch pad for plans of social regeneration. Nevertheless, concerns of an educational nature still ran just below the surface of his thinking. In the third part of this paper, we will consider this period only in order to try to identify the lasting educational principles which constitute the foundation of Sérgio's work.

The death of António Sérgio in 1969 – by coincidence, at the very time when Salazar, the man he had so stubbornly opposed, was himself on his deathbed – marks the end of a generation of intellectuals who saw education not merely as a specialized, professional field, but as the bedrock of the processes of social, economic and political change. The 1974 'Carnation Revolution' opened up a new phase in the history of Portugal, and it is not surprising that it witnessed the development of educational policies claiming Sérgio as their mentor. The final section looks at the relevance of Sérgio's thought in Portugal today.

Sérgio at the Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau

This school for educational sciences was established in 1912 on the initiative of the Genevan psychologist Edouard Claparède,[6] who arranged for its management to be entrusted to a philosopher from Neuchâtel, Pierre Bovet. It soon owed its fame to the second part of its name, which represented a whole programme in itself: the Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau.

Between October 1912 and July 1916, just over 100 students attended the Institute, 80 of whom were foreigners. With its motley gathering of nationalities (sometimes from countries on opposing sides in the First World War), highly varied personal agendas, ages and intellectual levels, experimentation with methods, curricula and examinations and the desire to marry scientific research with harmonious coexistence, it was a world in miniature with a universal vocation imparted by its ambition to lead the field in the movement to reform education, even though, according to Bovet, 'one sometimes finds more cordiality than competence there' (quoted by Lavachery, 1935, p. 19).

Many of the students in those first intakes were content with this. Then along came Sérgio who, with several others, seemed to place intellectual demands on a different scale altogether. This 'student' was no 'disciple', neither when he arrived nor when he left. That does not mean that Sérgio's stay in Geneva was unproductive, and there is no reason to believe that he was disappointed by the experience. In fact, he found himself confirmed in a two-fold conviction: that his ideas on education were not those of an isolated, self-taught individual; and that being self-taught enabled him to see and think more clearly.

António Sérgio and his wife Luísa enrolled for the first time as ordinary students at the Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau for the summer semester of 1914. Their stay in Geneva was interrupted for an unknown reason (the outbreak of the First World War?), but they enrolled again for the two semesters of the academic year 1915/16. The institute's chronicle welcomes the 'return' of the 'former students'.[7] Sérgio, known there as Mr de Sousa, was clearly not an obscure individual and there is no doubt that he made an impression: on 20 November 1915, he was elected president for the winter semester of the institute's teacher/student association. The proceedings of the association map out his career in this position: the strong impression that Sérgio made on the institute's director was apparent when, in 1932, the latter reported on the establishment's first twenty years. Recalling 'the mature students smiling condescendingly on the rather frivolous antics of the young', he includes in the former category 'a sometime officer in the Portuguese Navy' (Bovet, 1932, p. 191).

One of the most noteworthy impressions left by Sérgio in Geneva is the way in which he threw himself into an exercise which Claparède considered particularly important: writing an autobiography in the students' *Livre d'or* [Visitor's Book]. Claparède stressed the role that the institute he had founded should play as a centre of enlightenment and information. He believed that it should therefore be at the heart of a network through which one could trace the

gradual expansion of the educational movement and the initiatives of those who were a part of it. Where did the students come from? Who were they? What would happen to them afterwards?

Sérgio found the idea not uninteresting, receptive as he probably was to its organizing and 'political' intent. Perhaps, too, he found some pleasure in putting himself seriously to the test and giving a lesson of sorts to his peers and even his teachers: 'I will write what could be a document for the educator. I would have found this book most interesting if my predecessors had done the same.'

In fact, when Sérgio wrote his autobiography, there were about ten curricula vitae in the book, but none longer than twenty lines nor set out to be anything more than a list of professional activities, a record of a series of events or an admission that the writer lacked any teaching experience to speak of. It is not surprising that Sérgio's contribution should have made a strong impression on the other students and served as both a catalyst and an example. Intended as a model, his entry did indeed serve that purpose.

First of all, several later autobiographies were based on Sérgio's. His own text was not really very original (parents, childhood, first steps in learning, relations with those around him, discovery of the world, experience of school, formative reading, choice of direction, etc.), but it was well in line with the spirit of the institute. He balanced commitment and detachment in a way that must have rung true in an intellectual environment which was both 'emotional' and science-oriented. On the strength of his own experiences, he put forward a critique of academic habits as if it were self-evident. The other influence exerted by the autobiography is possibly to have encouraged not straightforward imitation but emulation, the desire to equal his achievements, but without producing a carbon copy.

This effect of being a 'model' or 'counter-model' may have acted over the years on new students, who always browsed through the *Livre d'or* before starting to write themselves. Probably one of the autobiography's self-formative effects was that it allowed Sérgio to take stock of his own past and identify the main influences on his intellectual development. In that sense the stay in Geneva must have been an opportunity for him to redefine his position, or at the very least to confirm his identity as an 'educationist'. Here are some passages from the autobiography:[8]

Raised in a very easy-going family, I do not think that I was ever scolded or beaten. My father treated me almost like a brother; I was his companion; the people around him imitated him in that, and treated me like a little man. This was not a deliberate method or system or intention of my father's. The freedom was great, but the lack of purpose had two disadvantages: no treatment or physical education to counteract the ravages of the very unhealthy climate of Portuguese Congo; later, when I reached the age of great intellectual and emotional upheavals (18 to 21), he did not understand me very well and I did not find him to be the ideal companion he could have been. . . . I spent one year at the Polytechnic and then entered the Naval Academy. The years there (between the ages of 18 and 21) were my – very exciting – Sturm und Drang period. My taste for mathematics was

succeeded by a taste for philosophy, literature and art. This change corresponds to a change in attitude towards my profession, particularly towards the long, stultifying sojourns in African ports. At that time (aged 19-26) I read at random, Descartes, Pascal, Leibnitz, Berkeley, Kant, Schopenhauer, Comte, Taine, John Stuart Mill, Spencer, Guyau, Fouillée; the French classics (Montaigne, Ronsard, Corneille, Racine, Bossuet, Molière, Rousseau, Buffon, Montesquieu), modern French poets, Hugo, Lamartine, Musset, Leconte de Lisle, Sully Prudhomme, Heredia; Cervantes and the Spanish tragedies as well as the modern poet Zorrilla; the English, especially Shelley; a few Italians and, of course, the Portuguese. . . . Political and social events in my own country awoke in me an interest in social and historical affairs; my thinking led me to despise the solutions of party politics or vote-catching (which in fact have never interested me and whose procedures I find outrageous) and to acknowledge the value of educational factors (in the family, in the work community and in school). . . . I think that this work (where I am in contact with Anglo-Saxons) has given me a fairly accurate sense of social realities and social needs that I have found to be quite often missing in teachers of young people, even when they are first-rate teachers, trainers and psychologists; in my view they have not seen enough of the world of work in factories, offices, banks, industry, trade and manual occupations. These are vantage points on modern life, where we should do well to position ourselves, since what is demanded (repeatedly these days, and quite rightly, too) is education for life.

A further indication of Sérgio's impact at the institute is the fact that he was among the few students who had work published during their 'school-days' in its journal, *L'intermédiaire des éducateurs* [The Educators' Go-between]. A first piece appeared in January-March 1916, using the title of a study by Claparède which had come out in April-May 1915, *Droite et gauche* [Right and Left], in which he had put forward an equation designed to calculate the 'coefficient of symmetry': Sérgio criticized its mathematical validity and modified the formula. By publishing this correction, whereby the student debated on equal terms with the teacher, the institute lived up to its principles; the 'autonomous' authority of Sérgio certainly gained by it. In June-July of the same year, the journal published a note by Sérgio, *Research on the Imagination*, in which he seems just as comfortable in the clinical domain this time, because the issue is the interpretation of 'ink blots'. In the same frame of mind that led him to criticize Claparède, Sérgio proposed improving on research carried out by several students under the direction of Aline Giroud. Sérgio appears therefore to have had the ear of the institute's researcher-lecturers, who seem to have set great store by his opinions. He took their work seriously but did not hesitate to respond to it, his own ideas being stimulated by those of others. That was perhaps the main advantage gained from his time in Geneva, where he found the time and place for a genuine dialogue among equals and an exchange in which he could both give and receive.

António Sérgio always showed consideration for his teachers in Geneva, as his private correspondence shows: 'I went there [Geneva] because of the recently established Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau (School of Educational Sciences). For the moment it is operating in very modest circumstances, but the teachers are first rate'.[9] Furthermore, Sérgio often praised the institute's teachers in public.

His favourite was Claparède, whose scientific authority he invoked when claiming that he himself had a scientific, and not exclusively literary, background: 'I was bound by firm bonds of friendship to real scientists (as eminent as Paul Langevin and Edouard Claparède), who always talked to me as to someone who had an essentially scientific frame of mind' (1950, p. 45).

However, apart from this personal respect, António Sérgio maintained a certain distance with regard to the Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau. In some letters he even hinted that he had only gone to Geneva to accompany his wife;[10] this would be typical of Sérgio, who was often secretive about the real influences on him. Another letter to Claparède,[11] recommending a relative to him, shows more politeness than open warmth. It makes no allusion to Sérgio's attendance at the institute, adding to the impression that for him this brief episode in his life was not exactly 'unforgettable'.

We shall nevertheless be able to demonstrate that the years 1914-16 were the crucial seedtime of Sérgio's educational theory. It was, in fact, in Geneva that he learnt his 'educational lessons'.

From educational theory to reform

António Sérgio first went into action in the civic arena, motivated by an obsessive concern for the rebirth of Portugal. This was not a backward-looking attitude, but reflected the need to carry out a constructive revolution. Education was central to that agenda. One of his main works, published in the last year of the First World War, is actually entitled *Education as a Factor in National Renewal*[12] and states:

> The New Education must be seen as a function which, in close symbiosis with other functions, resolutely contributes with all the others to Portuguese renewal; the reformed school of the future should influence adults – and not only children – in a spirit of solidarity, co-operation and tolerance, as the focal point of society that it ought to be; the science of education should be seen as a tool of life in society; the school itself should be, in the strongest sense of the word, a society; and at all times the teacher should feel like a warrior fighting to reform the nation (1918*a*, p. 8).

Sérgio's stay in Geneva served only to strengthen this attitude, which seemed to be motivated by an almost limitless belief in the potential of education to transform. It was from the Swiss city that the Education Library was run, founded by the civic movement Portuguese Renaissance, which tried to mobilize 'everyone of good faith in the work of educational propaganda'. A quote from Condorcet, used as an epigraph for the founding document, sets the tone of the project: 'The art of raising children is closely linked to the art of governing people. The science of education becomes a branch of politics, *or rather it is the whole of politics*.'

The aim of reform is at the heart of Sérgio's 'social theory of education'. For him, education is a vital commitment of the individual and of the community. The country's 'radical therapy' should be sought in an educational theory of

work, and in the reform of the Portuguese school system with productive work as the driving force. There are two arguments constantly present in Sérgio's educational writings: the need to prepare a governing elite, and the urgency of replacing bookish and formalist education with a school geared to work.

In 1918, Sérgio became the leader of a new civic movement which gave him an opportunity to draw up and put forward the outline of a national policy. The section on education reflects the influence of the Geneva circles and the ideas that were in fashion at the time in the ever-changing climate of the New Education: 'a school for productive work'; education centred on the experience and spontaneous activity of the schoolchild; teacher training carried out according to new methods of educational theory and child psychology; the establishment of agricultural high schools; the opening of a 'new school' in the countryside (modelled on Abbotsholme, Bedales, Odenwald); civic education and self-government, etc. (1918*b*).[13]

While it is true that these ideas are difficult to put into practice in a real school, the post-war social and political situation was nevertheless conducive to radical change in the education system as a whole. In Portugal, as indeed in most countries of Europe and on the American continent as well, the 1920s were the 'heyday' of education and educational theory. Wholly absorbed in his reforming activities, Sérgio rejoined Faria de Vasconcelos, back from Latin America, in the group A Seara Nova.

Faria de Vasconcelos is, without a doubt, the best known Portuguese educationist in international education circles. His work, *A New School in Belgum* (1915), is one of the first systematic descriptions of a typical 'new school'.[14] The First World War put an end to the experiment of the New School of Bierges-les-Wawre, forcing Faria de Vasconcelos to seek refuge with Adolphe Ferrière. In Geneva, he gave a series of lectures, warmly welcomed by *L'intermédiaire des éducateurs* (No. 31-33, 1915, p. 24) which also hailed the publication of his book: 'Mr Faria takes his place with dignity in the ranks of Decroly, Dewey, Förster and Montessori'. After his brief stay in Geneva, Faria de Vasconcelos left for Cuba and Bolivia where, with the support of Claparède and Ferrière, he devoted himself to spreading the ideas of the New Education.

In 1923, António Sérgio and Faria de Vasconcelos met again to discuss a plan for educational reform, which marked the zenith of liberal thinking in Portugal and the culmination of all the efforts to overhaul education carried out in the transition from the nineteenth to the twentieth century. The First Republic (1910–26), parliamentary and democratic, was going through a difficult time and their plan was the most daring and innovative attempt to reorganize Portuguese education.

The preamble attempts to justify the plan by referring to the aftermath of war, 'which has highlighted the pressing need, in all fields, for a new definition of the requirements of life and a further adjustment of social bodies'. It goes on to lay down the plan's major lines of emphasis: after describing the state of educa-

tion in Portugal, it makes a set of proposals that bear the unmistakable stamp of New Education ideas. Towards the end, there is this far-sighted injunction:

> There is undeniable and overwhelming evidence that we cannot possibly continue as we are, for otherwise we risk national suicide. Either we react energetically and salvation is possible, or we continue with the same unthinking, passive and conformist attitude, and we are lost (*Reforma de Educação*, 1923).

Given the task of publicizing the reform plan, Sérgio made several public statements. Here are two of the six points he made:

> The new plan follows the principles of modern educational theory, whereas the current law damages children's development in several respects. . . . The reforms are democratic in the noblest sense of the word, liberal and modern. They set up school bodies adapted to democracy; they establish civic education through the method of self-government; and they pay particular attention to the technical education of the people, and to people's universities (1923, pp. 12–20).

Despite the backing of educationists and teachers, the political instability at that time prevented the reforms from being implemented. It was the swan-song of republican educational theory. Soon afterwards, the 1926 military coup ushered in a retrogressive and educationally conservative dictatorship. Previously, Sérgio had had an opportunity to be a cabinet minister, holding the education portfolio on behalf of A Seara Nova, but the episode, which lasted less than three months (18 December 1923 to 28 February 1924) was not a particularly happy one. This was because the necessary political conditions had not all been met – or it had not been possible to determine the best governmental course of action – to implement the plan to change the structure of Portuguese education. The only gain that could be put down to Sérgio was the creation of a Council to Promote Education; but it must be admitted that the outcome was rather insubstantial:

> In my opinion, the principal agent for a genuine reform of public education in the country must be the Council to Promote Education, which grants foreign study bursaries and which sets up and manages pilot, or experimental, schools at the nursery, primary, secondary and higher levels. . . . Why did I accept the post of minister? In order to establish the Council; there was no other reason. I do not think I possess the talents of a politician and have no inclination at all for that profession (1934, pp. 3-7).

After 1926, the generation of New Education intellectuals became totally disillusioned about the possibility of far-reaching change to the education system. The First Republic had committed itself to 'shaping a new individual'; the disenchantment was as deep as the ambition had been lofty. At a distance of more than a century, the words of F. Guizot seem also to predict what happened in Portugal:

> In the midst of revolutionary turmoil, all these plans, all these dreams, generous, dangerous and puerile by turns, came to naught. . . . We had promised to ourselves, and had been promised, much; nothing was done. Illusions lingered over ruins (quoted by Baczko, 1980, p. 90).

Gradually, the reforming educationists determined to engage in action that was closer to everyday life and less directed towards social change. Teacher-training colleges were the places where the new ideas on education prospered, because the men and women there were still convinced that the priority was and always would be to train an educational elite: 'Do not fail to compile a register of young people with a marked pedagogical bent, on whom we can rely for the pilot schools of the future'; 'We must set up a register of former students of teacher-training colleges who believe in the cause, for they are the ones who should go abroad (Institut Rousseau, Decroly, Montessori, etc.)'.[15]

The journal *Educação social* [Social Education] (1924-27) became the mouthpiece of the Portuguese section of the International League for the New Education. On Adolphe Ferrière's suggestion, its management was taken over in 1927 by António Sérgio, who was still in voluntary exile in Paris (Nóvoa, 1987). In the preface to the Portuguese edition of *Transformons l'école* [Let's Change the School] and in a series of articles published in the newspaper *Le Volontaire* [The Volunteer], Sérgio did not hide his hopes of a political reversal, and returned to educational activism:

> Since the idea of freedom is one of the cornerstones of all modern educational theory, it is not only on the strength of philosophical beliefs or political ideals that I am speaking to you today from exile, but also in my capacity as an educationist. It is an exile which is an integral part of the consistent work of a moralist (1928, p. 8).
>
> It should be added that, in Italy and Spain, the dictatorship can remain in power without too much difficulty, whereas in Portugal the liberal tendencies of our people mean that it meets with resistance on a daily basis, despite the appalling violence of its conduct. It is in Portugal that the fight for freedom is now most intense and dramatic; in Portugal that it is meaningful and fine (1929b, p. 2).

Sérgio was wrong, however, about the longevity of the regime: Salazar's New State endured for half a century, and the situation became intolerable for the reforming educationists. Adolphe Ferrière realized this as early as 1930 and, during a trip to Portugal, played a decisive role in shaking up the Portuguese New Education group: people close to the nationalist and conservative regime took the places of António Sérgio and his friends, thus marking the end of an educational movement open to the outside world which had built up the most significant contribution to teaching in the history of education in Portugal.

Sérgio gradually distanced himself from educational affairs as he committed himself to political and cultural battles and to the spread of the co-operative movement, which was from then on the focus of his thought. Although he continued to describe himself as an educationist – and to write about education – it is obvious that his civic campaigns and his moves for reform placed emphasis on other fields. It was, however, his 'social theory of education' that exerted a profound influence over several generations of educators in Portugal.

Sérgio's educational motto: 'Work and Autonomy'

In a late piece of writing, published in 1957, Sérgio recapitulated his main theses on education and teaching, producing a sort of itinerary of his educational thought and writings:

- New processes in children's education, introduced in the preface to *The Montessori Method* by Luísa Sérgio (1915*a*);
- Linking social education to the productive activities of the region, an idea defended in *The Social Role of Students* (1917*a*) and *Letters about Vocational Education* (1916*a*), inter alia;
- Studying the history of the country in the light of key economic and social events, along the lines suggested in *Observations on History and Educational Theory* (1915*b*);
- The urgent need to grant foreign study bursaries, as stipulated in *The Problem of the Culture and the Isolation of the Peninsular Nations* (1914);
- Getting rid of rote-learning, an argument put forward in *Notions of Zoology* (1917*b*);
- Introducing future citizens to democracy by using methods of political democracy, the central argument of *Civic Education* (1915*c*);
- Reorganizing public education on clearly specified lines, giving priority to post-primary education, a proposal put forward in *Education as a Factor in National Renewal* (1918*a*).

So, in 1957, when tracing the development of his educational thought, Sérgio refers only to writings published between 1914 and 1919. In other words, what he had to say about education had already been expressed at that time, as he was perfectly aware at the age of 70 when he looked back on his work as a whole. The period concerned can even be reduced to the years 1914-16 alone, when he published the founding trilogy of his thought: *Civic Education, Observations on History and Educational Theory* and *Letters about Vocational Education.* It is no mere chance that these dates coincide exactly with Sérgio's stay in Geneva: April 1914-July 1916. It was thus in Geneva, the nerve centre of the New Education, that Sérgio drew up his educational agenda.

In 1914, in a letter in which he applied for the post of librarian of the Education Library of the Portuguese Renaissance, Sérgio suggested inserting a book-plate in every book outlining the main points of his plan: 'I should like the labels to bear the words *Work and Autonomy*'.[16] In the late 1920s, when he took charge of the Educator's Library, the same theme recurs:

> Two major aims are imperative for the school of the future: on the one hand, the progressive elimination of social antagonism and the establishment of a just society, the Single School of Work; on the other, the attainment of Freedom at an adult age, through the education of children in a climate of Freedom' (1928, p. 8).

The vindication of a school geared to work appeared very early in Sérgio's educational discourse. For him, it was a matter of ensuring 'the liaison between educa-

tion and productive activity' (1917*c*). In his view, the school of work was not simply a matter of method, but also a key concept of educational action; hence his riposte to those who accused him of preaching a utilitarian philosophy:

> What I have been defending for several years under the name of vocational education is general education, non-specialized, where exercising an activity in society is seen as a *means to an end*, as the *raison d'être* of education: this is education *through* (and not *for the sake of*) vocational activities (1918*b*, p. 215).

> Those who accuse me of being a utilitarian when I call for a primary school of Work, and not a primary school of the Alphabet, and a secondary school of Work (social and scientific work) instead of a secondary school for Cramming, show that they have only very old-fashioned ideas of work and workers (1925, p. 65).

The association of education and work would be expanded, according to Sérgio, thanks to the establishment of 'further education' schools, that is, institutions able to give students a comprehensive training with a view to exercising a function in society. In short, he saw 'work as a foundation, a programme and a means: work is the instrument of all progress towards awareness' (1916*a*, p. 35).

The other concept in Sérgio's system is autonomy, which recurs at various stages in his writings: in civic education through self-government, in the introduction of the social dimension into schools, in the conception of the school as a social centre and in the formation of school communities (1917*a*, pp. 26-27). Three arguments underpin the defence of the concept of autonomy:

- Autonomy, like civic education, is learned through practice, never through mere school attendance or through an academic discipline: 'In that respect, the municipium-school might be called the laboratory for the civics class' (1915*c*, p. 49); the concept of a *municipium-school* or *school-municipium* refers to the idea of a school that governs itself, running itself according to laws similar to those of civic democracy: a school which prepares its pupils to become citizens;
- action with a view to autonomy 'must be carried out not only in the school environment, through vocational activities and self-government, but also in the world outside' (1917*d*, p. 23);
- in schools, as in society, 'autonomy cannot be granted by leaders: it must be won by those who are led, patiently, day by day' (1917*e*, p. 62).

'Work and autonomy' was a fashionable slogan in the international milieu of the New Education, and Sérgio was strongly influenced by the ideas circulating at the Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau. The works of Georg Kerschensteiner and John Dewey, rather than those of Claparède and Ferrière, were those which most thoroughly permeated his writings: the German writer taught him the educational value of work and the basics of the *Arbeitsschulen* and *Fortbildungsschulen*, for which he became an ardent propagandist; the American philosopher introduced him to the social dimension of educational work, showing him the importance of democratic experience in the school environment.[17]

Sérgio's educational thought was not, of course, confined to the lines of emphasis just mentioned. In many ways, strategic developments of those ideas

were what contributed to his writings on education and made his work in the world of education and teaching particularly meaningful. For instance, we could mention:

- Systematic criticism of the shibboleth of the alphabet and debunking of the positive value of academic subjects: 'Teaching in schools can be educational only when the teachers come to understand that physics, chemistry, mathematics, history, the natural sciences, and so on, are mere pretexts or tools' (1939, p. 23);
- The defence of decentralization, based essentially on making professional bodies more accountable: 'In principle and ideally, there should be no state education because official education is unjust, anti-liberal and soporific, and results in a temptation to be tyrannical; but since it does exist, it should be run by a National Education Council elected by teachers' (1916*a*, p. 37);
- Awareness of the fact that educational innovation is an ongoing process and must be practised every day, an idea he illustrates with a sporting metaphor: 'To be good at sport, you must have the patience to train every day; if you do not train every day, you get out of shape; you become weaker and are incapable of winning' (1929*c*, p. 2).

Georg Kerschensteiner and John Dewey indisputably occupy pride of place in António Sérgio's 'educational family' portrait. Other influences also warrant a mention, however: firstly, Maria Montessori, for her methodology, since he did not agree with her philosophical principles ('because the unreliable aspects of the theory did not blight the – excellent – results of the practice, we are probably entitled to ask questions about procedures, as we seek a more cogent and accurate theoretical interpretation than that provided by the author herself' (1915*a*, p. 13)); next, Adolphe Ferrière, from whom he derived his educational activism and most of the characteristics of the active school; lastly, Edouard Claparède, whose theory of the 'functional conception of childhood' he borrowed and extended into the 'functional conception of education' (1940, p. 15). We could add Kilpatrick, Bovet, Decroly, Desmolins, not forgetting the 'founding father' whose work Sérgio subjected to particularly close scrutiny: Jean-Jacques Rousseau. This is the background to António Sérgio's educational philosophy.

Unlike other Portuguese thinkers of the New Education, António Sérgio was never really the creator of innovative educational ideas. His wish to devote himself to education was not granted, and so he was unable to experiment personally with new educational practices and processes. Where education was concerned, António Sérgio was above all an excellent popularizer, a thinker capable of placing 'the education question' in a wider social context and of envisaging the organization of education as part of a cultural and social revolution.

Even though he did not leave an original body of work behind him, Sérgio managed to transplant into Portuguese culture the new ideas which were sprouting up in international centres of education. In the process, he succeeded in placing them in a historical and philosophical perspective and giving a lucid account of Portuguese circumstances. He was able to bring together a great many

different ideas, unite them and confer upon them a social significance that they did not possess when taken in isolation. Did the words he wrote about the *Plagiarisms of Mr Jean-Jacques Rousseau* of Geneva on Education apply to himself?:

> It is always possible to talk about plagiarism if you look at isolated sentences by any author, and it is impossible to assess the originality of a thinker's doctrine on the basis of a single sentence. The many principles contained in *Emile* are probably to be found in the work of earlier writers; however, it is not the principles that are important, but the new root to which Rousseau attached them, by providing the basis, the organization and the criterion and creating a doctrine out of that which had not been one hitherto (1940, pp. 21-22).

Taking this to its logical conclusion, it could almost be said that there is nothing in the educational work of António Sérgio which cannot be found already in that of Kerschensteiner, Dewey or Ferrière. He did, however, create a forceful synthesis, adding a significant bonus: the social dimension of education. This is what gives António Sérgio and his agenda for reform a special place in the history of educational theory in Portugal.

The social dimension: relevance and topicality

In 1974, the 'Carnation Revolution' toppled the authoritarian regime that had held sway for forty-eight years. Suddenly, anything was possible and within the grasp of everyone. Once again education was at the crossroads, with different futures beckoning. In this context, the priority was to change what had to be changed.

It was all too clear that Salazar's New State had erased the memory of the new educational theory of the 1920s. Was it possible to turn to more distant inherited values? No one could ignore the civic action and political battles waged by António Sérgio, and thus his educational theory was rediscovered and it became possible to reconstruct a significant chapter in the history of Portuguese education.

Sérgio's work could indeed be reassessed, because the Portuguese were 'confronted with an inherited project, which was not a mere legacy, and with aspirations rooted in the mists of time' (Godinho, 1984, p. 17). This man had preached a doctrine that could be taken up and used despite the obsolescence of its techniques and methodology; a doctrine whose core remained to be implemented because the school of work had still not replaced that of the alphabet, any more than autonomy had replaced dependence.

Sérgio's 'heritage project' was first of all taken up in a context of civic education through autonomy. The aim was to update the proposal for national renewal through education around the *municipium-school* and the school of work (ibid., p. 6). Not surprisingly, during a revolutionary period, the idea that schoolchildren could organize themselves at school rather like adults did at the

municipal level, learning in and by practice to play the social roles of citizenship, was welcomed. It made even greater headway in that it was linked to manual and scientific work and local economic activity. Many of the reforms proposed in Portugal during the 'Carnation Revolution' must be interpreted in that light.

Sérgio's second lesson – and that of the New Education generation – was that it was crucial to open up the school to the outside world. It is now acknowledged without hesitation that the high points of Portuguese education coincided with periods of new internal and external political openness. Innovation in education occurs only through an ongoing exchange of ideas and experiences. Sérgio understood the importance of mutual enrichment better than anyone, and he put it into practice. By putting a stop to communication and exchange, Salazar's New State sought to stifle a cultural and scientific heritage developed by successive generations of educators. However, the need for change resurfaces even when consciences appear to have been definitively sedated. After 1974, Sérgio's work went constantly hand-in-hand with the renaissance. It is therefore not surprising that, just recently, in response to an invitation from a journal, the President of the Republic referred to the man who 'long dominated civic and educational theory, [who] is still relevant and who can stimulate reflection and debate at a time when the challenge for education, culture and science is a national priority and a prerequisite for Portugal's modernization as a country taking part in the building of Europe' (Soares, 1992, p. 81).

To conclude, let us mention the attention paid to the social dimension of education that is so prominent in Sérgio's thinking: the duty of teachers to know the world as a navigator knows the sea (1918*a*); the appeal to the authorities to solve the problems of 'living stones' before turning to the problems of 'dead stones' (1957); the appeal to educators to raise children's awareness of social and civic issues in the same way that they teach them mathematics (1915*c*). These three injunctions stem from a single belief, which is reaffirmed in each of them: that the main aim of education is not the adaptation of an individual to a particular society, but his or her capacity to contribute to the transformation of that society.

Like Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, we would not claim that Sérgio's work is relevant today because it appears to contain solutions to current problems:

> but it is topical because, seen in the context of its time and against the deep backdrop of our history, it raised basic questions about what we are and opened up new perspectives on what we aspire to become. In order to attain that, and among various other forms of action, we can rely on the influence of education, which is indispensable, although we must guide it in such a way as to avoid the pitfalls that Sérgio pointed out [Godinho, 1984, p. 17].

Educational philosophy at the latter end of this century seems to be trapped in existing organizational and intellectual moulds. We are no longer able to think of breaking with the past. Worse still, we are no longer capable of wanting anything

else. We are not strong enough to attempt the radicalism which was the very origin of the New Education.

Reading António Sérgio brings us face to face with the poverty of our imagination, our lack of ambition, the impossibility of proposing genuinely innovative solutions. Sérgio knew how to want something and how to want something different. The vitality of his philosophy made itself felt by the radical nature of the reforms he advocated. He simply called for a different kind of school, or, failing that, no *school* at all:

> Schools were invented in Antiquity, in the days of superstition; they were renewed in the nineteenth century, in the days of superstition about science; now we must alter them, not through a cult of Antiquity or a cult of science, but so as to place real value on human life (1917*b*, p. 11).

Notes

1. Parts of this text reproduce an article written in collaboration with Daniel Hameline based on the transcription of an unpublished work by António Sérgio: his autobiography which appears in the *Livre d'or* of the Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau. This article was published in the *Revista crítica de ciências socias* (Coimbra), No. 29, 1990, pp. 141–77.
2. In this text we will use only the name António Sérgio, by which he is known in Portugal and is also the form he used to sign his work.
3. António Sérgio often distinguished between the concepts of *educationist* and *educator* (or teacher): the former was supposed to study educational matters and systematize knowledge in the field; the latter should place his or her art and intuition at the service of the practicalities of education.
4. References to works by António Sérgio bear the date only. See below, 'Works by António Sérgio on Education'.
5. The *Autobiography* was written in the *Livre d'or* of the Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Geneva, in 1915-16.
6. Profiles of Edouard Claparède and Adolphe Ferrière appear in this series of '100 Thinkers on Education'.
7. Chronicle of the Institute, *L'intermédiaire des éducateurs* [The Educators' Go-between], Vol. 4, Nos. 31-33, 1915, p. 28.
8. In transcribing the text, we have standardized the spelling but otherwise respected the original manuscript (syntax, punctuation, capital letters and so on).
9. Letter from António Sérgio to Raul Proença, 1914.
10. The following extracts are proof enough: 'I do not know whether I have already told you that my wife has registered at the University and at an institute in Geneva, where she is studying early childhood education' (letter to Álvaro Pinto, May 1914); 'My wife is studying the regular theoretical and practical aspects of educational theory and psychology at Geneva schools, under my guidance' (letter to Manuel da Silva Galo, 17 June 1916).
11. Letter to Claparède, 20 August 1925.

12. In order to make the text easier to read, the titles of works published by Sérgio in Portuguese have been translated into English. The reader will find the original Portuguese in 'Works by António Sérgio on Education' below.
13. Cf. *Pela Grei* [By the People], No. 3, pp. 10-11, 1918.
14. In the Preface to this work (pp. 7-20), Adolphe Ferrière published for the first time the 'thirty characteristic features, taken from the actual experience of New Schools, against which they may be measured, so to speak' (p. 17).
15. Unpublished letters from António Sérgio to Álvaro Viana de Lemos (8 November 1927 to 7 February 1930), held in an archive of the Modern School Movement in Lisbon.
16. Letter to Álvaro Pinto in 1914 (cf. Fernandes, 1972, p. 31).
17. Research in António Sérgio's archives confirms that between 1914 and 1916 he acquired a whole set of books recommended by the institute's professors from the Librairie Eggiman in Geneva. In my own personal library are Sérgio's copies of the main works of, among others, Claparède, Dewey, Ferrière, Kerschensteiner and Montessori, copiously annotated.

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B. F. SKINNER

(1904–90)

Louis M. Smith

Skinner is the most important American psychologist of the twentieth century, and arguably the most important world psychologist since, or including, Freud. His first book, *The Behavior of Organisms* (1938), was a major tour de force and staked out a claim for a new wave of behaviourism. The next half-century saw his position developed, elaborated, criticized and further elaborated. No issue seemed too large or too small for his observant eye and his analytic insights.

Becoming a psychologist

If one were to follow Skinner's own admonitions, a personal history analysis would be necessary to capture his 'becoming a psychologist'. His decision to study psychology resulted from an unusual and idiosyncratic set of circumstances.

Burrhus Frederic Skinner was born in the small town of Susquehanna, Pennsylvania. He graduated from Hamilton College with a major in literature. He spent his immediate postgraduate year trying to become a writer. It was a time of frustration and failure; he found that he had nothing of significance to say.

As he recounted in his autobiographical *Particulars of My Life*: 'I had apparently failed as a writer, but was it not possible that literature had failed me as a method?' (Skinner, 1976*b*, p. 291).

> I was foundering in a stormy sea and perilously close to drowning, but help was on the way. *The Dial* [a magazine he had long read] published some articles by Bertrand Russell which led me to his book *Philosophy*, published in 1927, in which he devoted a good deal of time to John B. Watson's behaviorism and its epistemological implications (ibid., p. 298).

Soon he was reading Watson and Jacques Loeb and critiqueing a book by Berman, *The Religion Called Behaviorism.* The *Saturday Review of Literature* did not publish his book critique, '. . . but in writing it I was more or less defining myself for the first time as a behaviorist' (ibid., p. 299). After a series of conversations with faculty friends from Hamilton, he applied and was accepted as a Ph.D. student at Harvard University for the autumn of 1928.

The dramatic move from literature to behavioural psychology without ever having taken a psychology course might be perceived as a conversion experience. One might argue that Skinner was operating on limited data for an intellectual move that was to last for the remainder of his life – over fifty years. Something about the Russell and Watson books hit a responsive chord in his late adolescent perspective. A world-view was in the making even before the substantive theory, the world of operants, respondents, reinforcers and discriminative stimuli were discovered or constructed. It seems that Skinner's personal experience had more to do with his choice than with his considered professional experience and judgement.

The social environment, culminating in the overcoming of the Great Depression of the 1930s and winning the good war of the 1940s, changed significantly in the post-war years. Skinner wrote: 'Behaviorism appealed to me because I believed, with Watson, that a better knowledge of human behavior would help solve our problems.' Skinner's American small-town world before the experience of the First World War left him with a not uncommon belief in 'progress'. That disposition provided fertile soil for a theoretical position: that of behaviourism.

The world-view

The scope and particulars of Skinner's creative ideas are numerous and scattered throughout his lifetime. These ideas have their antecedents in Pavlov, Thorndike and Watson. Skinner carried the ideas to new levels of differentiation, generality and integration. His thought seemed always to express a practical, applied and technical side. Education, broadly defined, occupied him through such varied activities as designs for a baby's crib, teaching machines and programmed learning. Another cluster of ideas was derived from his creativity, inventiveness and skill as an experimental scientist.

In his early book *The Behavior of Organisms* (1938), the brilliance and range – and a kind of simplicity as well – of Skinner's efforts were apparent. The first chapter laid out the scope of the effort. His was to be a psychology of *all* organisms – from protozoa to human beings. At one stroke he undercut all the concerns with human beings as a special case in psychology. His white rats would represent and symbolize all organisms. And the focus was now an intact organism living in an environment, not a segmented set of dimensions nor an inferential neurological system, nor a 'mind' or other inner states – ego, id or superego. Behaviour, that is to say what organisms visibly do, defined the subject

matter. And within behaviour, at least for this first book, the challenge was to typify all voluntary behaviour. If he could predict and control that, he had a grip on the universe. The 'Skinner Box', a small box-like apparatus under the experimenter's control, represented all environments, the collection of stimuli impacting on the organism. Through the experimental method, the box and the white rat – with the experimental psychologist in control – could create a database and thus a theoretical point of view.

Skinner's view of the history of science, with special relevance to human beings, appears in several places in his writing. One of the most dramatic comments occurs in the first chapter of *Science and Human Behavior* (1953), his general text written for the undergraduate course he taught at Harvard – Natural Science 114.

> Primitive beliefs about man and his place in nature are usually flattering. It has been the unfortunate responsibility of science to paint more realistic pictures. The Copernican theory of the solar system displaced man from his pre-eminent position at the center of things. Today we accept this theory without emotion, but originally it met with enormous resistance. Darwin challenged a practice of segregation in which man set himself firmly apart from the animals, and the bitter struggle which arose is not yet ended. But though Darwin put man in his biological place, he did not deny him a possible position as master. Special faculties or a special capacity for spontaneous, creative action might have emerged in the process of evolution. When that distinction is now questioned, a new threat arises (Skinner, 1953, p. 7).

It does not require a long stretch of the imagination to see Skinner posing himself and his theory of behaviourism in that sequence.

The general text of *Science and Human Behavior* extends animal data by extrapolation to all aspects of the human being. Its 450 pages and twenty-nine chapters fall into six sections: (a) the possibility of a science of human behaviour; (b) the analysis of behaviour; (c) the individual as a whole (with chapters on self-control, thinking and the self); (d) the behaviour of people in groups; (e) controlling agencies (with chapters on government and law, religion, psychotherapy, economic control and education); and (f) the control of human behaviour (with chapters on culture and control, designing a culture and the problem of control). No issue was too large or too small for his consideration. His was a world-view, and one that could not be ignored by any psychologist – nor by more broadly-based intellectuals from other disciplines and domains.

Shortly after the Second World War, Skinner took up the issue of Utopia, the good society, in his *Walden Two* (1948). It was one of those books that sold slowly at first, then generated considerable controversy, caught the wave of social conflict in the 1960s and, by the mid-1980s, had sold over 2 million copies. For a young man who spent a post-college year (1929) trying to be a writer but found he had nothing to say, it was a huge success. Now he had much to say – and many readers who wanted to hear the message.

In this utopian novel, a returning serviceman calls on his old professor, aptly named Professor Burris, and raises an old idea from an earlier university course.

'What we don't see, sir, is why we have to take up where we left off. Why isn't this a good time to get a fresh start? From the very beginning. Why not get some people together and set up a social system somewhere that will really work? There are a lot of things about the way we're all living now that are completely insane - as you used to say. . . . Why can't we do something about it? Why can't we go on doing something about it?' (Skinner, 1948, p. 3).

In the novel, another former student, also aptly named – Frazier – has not only started a community, but has written an article about it. As Skinner's alter ego, able to say things that Skinner was not yet willing at that time to say for himself, he also carries some of Skinner's other 'virtues'.

Later in the book, after a long trip through the possibilities of a technology of behaviour applied to the design of a community – from child-rearing to schooling and from family life to community organization – Skinner gave Frazier one of the most important lines in his own evolving point of view.

'Walden Two didn't require genius! I have only one important characteristic, Burris: I am stubborn. I've had only one idea in my life - a true idée fixe.'
'What idea is that?'
'To put it as bluntly as possible – the idea of having my own way. "Control" expresses it, I think. The control of human behaviour, Burris. In my early experimental days it was a frenzied, selfish desire to dominate. I remember the rage I used to feel when predictions went awry. I could have shouted at the subjects of my experiments, "Behave, damn you! Behave as you ought!" Eventually I realized that the subjects were always right. They always behaved as they should have behaved. It was I who was wrong. I had made a bad prediction' (Skinner, 1948, p. 240).

It is interesting to speculate on what the 'subjects' might have said about Frazier's intellectual and emotional behaviour. Was he too behaving as he ought, caught up in his own deterministic system? *Walden Two* remains one of the most powerful statements ever offered by a psychologist.

Real-life applications

Skinner was not only an experimentalist and a utopian. Many of his ideas were translated into practical applications and these were reported in speeches and articles. Several were brought together into the several editions of *Cumulative Record* (1959, 1961, 1970). Intellectually, these applications were held together as part of a diverging intellectual strand. In several places in his autobiographical statements, Skinner comments that he is a 'Baconian' scientist: 'I have "studied nature not books"', and 'I get my books out of life, not out of other books' (Skinner, 1967, p. 409).

In the mid-1940s, with the birth of his second child, Skinner turned his attention to the behavioural engineering task of improving the infant's environment and the mother's mental health with the invention of an 'air crib', described in the *Ladies Home Journal* as a 'baby in a box'. Applying what might be called vintage Skinnerian thinking, he commented:

> We began by going over the disheartening schedule of the young mother, step by step. We asked only one question: Is this practice important for the physical and psychological health of the baby? When it was not, we marked it for elimination. Then the 'gadgeteering' began (Skinner, 1970, p. 567).

Skinner attended to problems of warmth and freedom of movement of the infant by installing temperature controls in the air crib. Except for a diaper, the child played free of clothes, rashes and sores, with minimal crying and fussing. The filtered air going into the compartment eliminated many minor health problems. The 'mattress cover' was initially a simple roller-towel arrangement which could be changed by drawing new toweling through. Daily routines for child and mother were possible in the nearly soundproof environment of the crib. 'The compartment does not ostracize the baby. The large window is no more of a social barrier than the bars of a crib' (Skinner, 1961, p. 425). In addition to the health and happiness of the child and the mother in this particular situation, and the need to try out the crib with other children and mothers, one is left with the thought: what about other kinds of child behaviour and helping parents to cope?

Skinner makes an important concluding theoretical point: 'One case is enough, however, to disprove the flat assertion that it can't be done' (ibid., p. 426). In a way Skinner was questioning much of traditional psychological research methodology.

In a delightful address to the American Psychological Association in 1959 Skinner presented 'Pigeons in a Pelican', his study using pigeons as 'organic control' mechanisms for guided missiles in the context of the Second World War and the devastation of Europe by Hitler's armies. Working in his laboratory at the University of Minnesota and with space, facilities and engineers at General Mills Corporation, Skinner attacked the problems of training pigeons for this task. The accompanying hardware was developed with the help of engineers. Through careful training, pigeons learned to track silhouettes of ships and peck at the image. These continuing pecks produced signals for small motors which controlled the flight apparatus of the missile. The pigeons were eminently successful. Skinner had less success with physicists, mathematicians and generals who thought it a crackpot idea, even after observing it in action accomplishing everything Skinner claimed for it. *Walden Two* was written during the next year after the pigeon project was ended.

At the time, Skinner had returned to Harvard University and had begun teaching a course in 'Human Behaviour'. The students called the course 'Pigeons', for the good reason that it dealt mainly with experiments and data from studies of pigeons. In Skinner's words, 'I talked about people with prin-

ciples derived from pigeons' (1983, p. 26). He was constructing a point of view which took great leaps from his experimental data into stories and problems about the human condition. He based his efforts on the following rationale:

> My treatment of human behavior was largely an interpretation, not a report of experimental data. Interpretation was a common scientific practice, but scientific methodologists had paid little attention to it (ibid., p. 27).

Skinner continued: 'I chose examples of behavioral processes from history and literature' (ibid.). These included references to superstition, to aversive conditioning and response generalization. He was constructing a human world-view by extrapolating from his behavioural concepts to vivid literary illustrations. The human world was understandable – reducible? – to his more 'fundamental' concepts. And that is part of the power of any science.

Skinner on education

Skinner tells stories about each of his major intellectual efforts in his 1,000-page, three-volume autobiography (1976*b*, 1979, 1983). In the third volume, after a brief account of his own education and some of the contrasts raised in *Walden Two*, Skinner presents several paragraphs regarding his daughters' educational experiences. He was disturbed by the amount of homework required of his older daughter and wrote to the school director. Then he commented about a significant day:

> On November 11, 1953 I made a positive move. It was Father's Day at Shady Hill, and with a few other fathers I sat in the rear of Debbie's fourth-grade arithmetic class. The students were at their desks solving a problem written on the blackboard. The teacher walked down the aisles, looking at their work, pointing to a mistake here and there. A few students soon finished and were impatiently idle. Others, with growing frustration, strained. Eventually the papers were collected to be taken home, graded, and returned the next day (1983, p. 64).

In the best tradition of interpretative asides in qualitative research, Skinner commented further:

> I suddenly realized that something had to be done. Possibly through no fault of her own, the teacher was violating two fundamental principles: the students were not being told at once whether their work was right or wrong (a corrected paper seen twenty-four hours later could not act as a reinforcer), and they were all moving at the same pace, regardless of preparation or ability (ibid.).

After a comment or two, he states: 'A few days later, I built a teaching machine' (ibid., p. 65). Seeing the issue as one of contingencies of reinforcement and the means of presenting the reinforcements, Skinner began the teaching-machine movement, and programmed learning was soon to follow. At the time, he makes

an important choice of words as he describes the student's behaviour: 'The student composes rather than selects the answers' (ibid.).

The story is, in fact, more complicated than this because he had made earlier attempts to mechanize his laboratory equipment so that the research would be more efficient. There were also other antecedents: lawyers and patents, philosophical critiques from Max Black and Israel Scheffler, correspondence with Sidney Pressey, and reprints from Pressey's work in the 1920s and 1930s on an early form of apparatus for testing and teaching.

Skinner had the ability to observe behaviour in complex natural settings, immediately seeing the relevance of major concepts and principles from his theoretical position, and then to devise and build technological equipment to remedy the situation. Any social scientist would envy his 'eye', his 'creativity', his 'grounded theory' and his qualitative action research.

But Skinner was not only 'hi-tech'. In one of his most delightful essays, 'How to Teach Animals', Skinner described how to turn a child's toy – a cricket or metal snapper which gives a high-pitched sound – into a conditioned reinforcer by pairing it with the presentation of small pieces of food to a hungry animal, a pet dog for instance. Once that relationship is established, then the reinforcement can be given immediately (less than one second for full power of effect) to any behaviour that one wants the animal to learn. One can teach the animal to attend to the cupboard, to walk with a raised head, or if one prefers more 'intellectual' behaviour, the animal, such as a pigeon, can be taught to read, that is, it pecks when presented with a 'peck' card and does not peck when presented with a 'do not peck' card. Playing short tunes on a piano and playing modified ping-pong are also within the learning range of a pigeon. Without missing a beat, as it were, Skinner hinted at extrapolations to young children who do or do not do what their parents want or do not want – 'annoying behaviour'. Careful observation makes clear the reinforcing contingencies operating in the parent's behaviour and the simple changes that can be introduced to get the desired responses.

Concomitantly, the technological successes, like everything he touched, came with a series of essays, and later became the book *The Technology of Teaching* (1968), which brought his theoretical perspective to the classical problems of teaching and learning. In the initial chapter, 'The Etymology of Teaching', he analyzed the great metaphors that have been developed to account for the changes from an uneducated individual to an educated individual. In the final chapter, 'The Behaviour of the Establishment', he discussed aspects of school organization and administration. In between, he took up 'The Science of Learning and the Art of Teaching', 'The Technology of Teaching', 'Motivation, Creativity, Discipline and Self-Control'. To each of these topics he brought his mode of thinking – what is it that the individual must 'do' to qualify as being motivated, self-controlled and creative, and then what is it that the teacher-experimenter must do to make those end behaviours more probable? All in all, it was a major work on educational psychology for teachers.

If one removes the cant and the stereotyped images of Skinner, the master-experimenter with his 'boxes' and his white rats and his pigeons, and if one adopts the stance and perspective of a qualitative action researcher seeking to improve his own teaching and his student's learning, one discovers a fellow teacher working on a difficult practical problem, inventing creative tactics, and then trying to conceptualize what one is trying to do. Consider the following descriptive account from *A Matter of Consequencies*:

> One could teach high-jumping simply by raising the bar a millimeter after each successful jump, and I had once programmed a bit of verbal behavior in essentially that way when Debbie [his daughter] brought home a worksheet in arithmetic. There were twenty or thirty problems designed to teach the equivalence of different expressions for the same operation. Debbie was to add, for example, when she saw 'the sum of ... and ...', or '... plus ...' or '... added to ...'.But the blanks contained two- or three-digit numbers, and in her concern for correct calculation, she was *missing the point* about equivalence. I wrote the expressions on a sheet of paper in ink and inserted the figures 2 and 3 in the blanks in pencil. Debbie had no trouble with 'the sum of 2 and 3', '2 plus 3', or '2 added to 3'. She obviously knew what the expressions meant. Then I erased the numbers and put in slightly larger ones, and again she had no trouble. After two or three revisions, she did the original sheet effortlessly (1983, p. 95) [Emphasis added].

'Missing the point' is a phrase that any teacher might use. The teacher translates that into a behaviouristic scheme and devises tactics to correct the situation – and the 'misunderstanding'.

Hardly pausing for breath, Skinner then offered other examples and introduced an array of concepts useful for a teacher thinking about helping students learn: models, shaping, priming, prompting, vanishing and fading. If a teacher already has a broad range of teaching strategies and tactics, then he/she will always be on the look-out for additional elements to add to the intellectual and practical repertory. Skinner seems to provide those additions as creatively as any teacher.

Another example comes from Epstein's (1980) edited volume of Skinner's notebooks. Each excerpt has a brief title and the time of writing is unfortunately only partially clarified since Skinner wrote, edited and rewrote many of the notes. Consequently it is difficult to trace the development of his thinking over time. Consider one of the more provocative notes entitled 'When Does Helping Help?':

> Watching myself with Lisa, I have been more impressed by this point. In my concern for helping a child, I destroy the contingencies which would teach her to save herself. For example, I push branches aside which are getting against her face and deprive her of the chance to learn to avoid branches. I pull on a sock and deprive her of the chance to learn to do it herself (Epstein, 1980, p. 12).

Other major works

For over two decades Skinner worked on his *Verbal Behavior* (1957). In a fundamental sense, it was an intensive analysis of 'man thinking' and social behaviour. It extended his behaviourist position to the most difficult domains of human activity and aroused considerable controversy.

His *Beyond Freedom and Dignity* (1971) continued and solidified the arguments begun in *Walden Two* and *Science and Human Behavior* on human nature, the technology of behaviour and the design of cultures. Essentially, he asked questions regarding the achieving of balance in the dilemma between the values of freedom and dignity, on the one hand, and cultural survival on the other. He opted for the latter in the face of the population explosion, the possibility of a nuclear holocaust, world famine and global pollution. Solutions exist in 'vast changes in human behaviour' to be brought about by 'a technology of behaviour'. It is an intriguing extension of his earlier intriguing arguments.

In his *About Behaviorism* (1976*a*), Skinner rewrote much of his early general text for an intellectual but non-technical audience. The book begins with twenty broad and common generalizations about behaviourism which he believed to be false (pp. 4-5). Generalization No. 1: 'It [behaviourism] ignores consciousness, feelings, and states of mind'. Number 10: 'It works with animals, particularly with white rats, but not with people, and its picture of human behaviour is therefore confined to those features which human beings share with animals'. And No. 20: 'It is indifferent to the warmth and richness of human life, and it is incompatible with the creation and enjoyment of art, music, and literature and with love for one's fellow men'. The book takes up his position regarding these 'false claims'.

Critics and criticism

All in all, his is an impressive record. One needs to think historically of Wilhelm Wundt, William James and Sigmund Freud to find a psychologist who was as influential, not only in the domain of psychology but in the general intellectual world.

However, the kind of criticism one provokes attests to the quality and the importance of one's thought. A half-dozen major critiques have been launched about one aspect or another of Skinner's thought. The English magazine *Punch* did a one-page satire on teaching machines and programmed learning (see below). Joseph Wood Krutch, the distinguished literary critic of Columbia University, wrote a critique of *Walden Two*, calling it an 'ignoble Utopia', in *The Measure of Man* (1953). Michael Scriven (1956) read his 'A Study of Radical Behaviorism' at a Minnesota philosophy of science symposium. Noam Chomsky (1959) of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology published a long linguistic criticism of Skinner's *Verbal Behavior* in *Language*. Carl Rogers, the creator of non-directive counseling and client-centered therapy, debated with Skinner on

issues of freedom and control in human behaviour and action. By any intellectual standard, that is an impressive array of individuals who took Skinner seriously enough to joust with him. Further, such commentary suggests another facet of his influence on the intellectual life of the twentieth century.

The brief satirical piece in *Punch* (Heathorn, 1962) was not directed specifically at Skinner; it was rather a commentary on teaching machines which were being touted as a solution to problems of education and learning. It depicted a new, almost magical device called 'Built-in Orderly Organized Knowledge', known by the acronym 'B.O.O.K.'. It contained no wires, no electrical circuits or mechanical parts to break down. It would fit easily in the hands of children or adults and 'can be conveniently used sitting in an armchair by the fire'. It had remarkable features: a number of sheets of paper, each identified by numbers in sequence so that they could not be used in the wrong order, a lock-in device called a binding to keep them in order, and even accessories such as 'BOOKmark' to pick up the programme where the learner left off at the prior session. This spoof lays stress on the power of the earlier Gutenberg innovation, and looks critically at the sense of innovations and the logical rationales presented. It is clever enough to make one wonder now whether the computer will contain the power to supplant B.O.O.K. The point here is simpler, that the technology fostered by B. F. Skinner was conspicuous enough to draw comment from the well-known British humour magazine.

Conclusions

A kind of absurdity exists in trying to write, much less to sum up a life as creative and brilliant as B. F. Skinner's eight decades. But, from this brief profile, several general comments seem warranted.

As much, and usually more, than any psychologist of the twentieth century, Skinner attacked intellectually the totality of the world of the behaviour of living organisms. Though much of his experimental work involved 'white rats and pigeons', they served, for him, only as examples of the totality of living individuals, including human beings. A comprehensive world view was both his goal and his accomplishment. His view was highly contested by both the scientific community of psychology and the larger world of intellectuals and informed citizens.

The world-view was also a way of thinking, a kind of generalized problem-solving. He was both a realist and a determinist in that he assumed there was a world out there and that it had a lawful order waiting to be discovered. And once that order was discovered, it could be put to the useful purpose of improving the human condition. A basic premise is that the environment of the individual – the stimulus conditions – were the ultimate controllers of an individual's behaviour. Perhaps most controversial, both internally to the consistency of his own point of view and externally in debate with other psychologists and scholars, was the role of the 'self' in these discussions and debates. At times he

eschewed any notion of personality structures or habit systems, believing only in the environment – fractured into stimuli – and in behaviour analyzed into responses. At other times, from early discussions in *Science and Human Behavior* (1953) to later ones in 'behavioural self-management' in *Upon Further Reflection* (1987), an individual's ability to monitor himself was of major significance.

In his mode of analysis employed in the 'baby in a box'; his technical achievements and interpersonal frustrations in 'pigeon in a pelican'; his case study of scientific method; his concerns over the instruction in mathematics his daughter and classmates were receiving and his design of alternative methods; his concerns about managing himself and continuing his intellectual life in his later, post-retirement years – these all show him at his creative, and often humorous, best. He seemed to be saying: What is going on here? What are we trying to achieve? And what is a more sensible and humane way of doing what we want to do? All this was imbued with his conception of behaviouristic psychology.

Stated in perhaps more elegant form is Dews' (1970) summary comment in the 'Preface' to the *Skinner Festschrift* volume.

> Most men who have profoundly assisted the development of science have required four types of skills. First, the ability to recognize and to define important problems susceptible to scientific elucidation, and to define them clearly; that is, to see distant goals clearly and to formulate strategy. Second, the tactical ability to conceive and conduct experiments sufficiently limited in scope to be rigorous, but advancing science according to the general strategy. Third, the innovative ingenuity and technical skill needed for the actual conduct of elegant experiments. Fourth, the ability to see how the results of experiments contribute to understanding, and to use the results to guide future experiments. . . . Skinner has all four skills in unusual measure (1970, p. ix).

Although Skinner never addressed the approach that has come to be known as 'the reflective practitioner', and he, and individuals from that perspective, might want to disavow such a membership, he is an example par excellence.

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HERBERT SPENCER

(1820–1903)

Brian Holmes

Herbert Spencer was a gifted amateur. Compared with his distinguished contemporaries, he was neither as precocious as J. S. Mill nor as well-educated as Charles Darwin and T. H. Huxley. Mill, a famous philosopher, was learning Greek at the age of 3 and had written a Roman history at the age of 6½ (Bain, 1882). Both Darwin, who attended a famous public school – Shrewsbury (Barlow, 1958) – and Huxley, who went to one of the best known private schools in England (Bibby, 1959), received more formal education than Spencer. Yet at a time when, in the absence of popular publicly provided education, only a few boys acquired an education based on the classical languages, his schooling was not negligible. He attended a local school for three years but could not read until he was 7. At the age of 13 he went to stay with his uncle, Thomas Spencer, who had had a successful career at Cambridge University before becoming the priest of a parish near Bath. Young Herbert ran away when first left with his uncle but returned to acquire, on his own testimony (Spencer, 1850, p. 115), some knowledge of mathematics, physics and chemistry, a little French, some Greek grammar and an ability to translate some easy texts from Latin. Since, at the age of 16, Spencer declined the offer of a place at Cambridge University arranged by his uncle, he was obliged to look for a job. Fifty years later, he looked back on his educational achievements and was grateful for the stimulus to work provided by the school run by his uncle. His strictures about formal education were directed specifically to that type of schooling provided in the establishments attended by his subsequent adult friends who, in spite of it, had become world-famous professional philosophers and scientists. Formal schooling may not have been decisive in the careers of any of these nineteenth-century English intellectual giants; Spencer was, however, an amateur among professionals.

For example, he learned much from experience. In roaming the countryside he collected specimens, acquired a tolerable knowledge of animal and insect life, and taught himself how to sketch from nature. Against the book knowledge acquired by his contemporaries, Spencer was proud to weigh the knowledge he

had gained from things around him. At the same time it is clear that he benefited greatly from the intellectual atmosphere created by his father and uncle, and in which he grew up. His father, William George Spencer (1790-1866), was an apolitical radical who wanted to see society re-ordered. Though at one time a member of the Library Committee of the Derby Methodists, Spencer senior objected to the power that ministers exercised over the members of the congregation and began to attend Quaker services so that he could reflect quietly. He was by all accounts a good schoolmaster who, ahead of his time, advocated self-education. Free from doctrinal constraints, Spencer gave his father credit for the development in him of a scientific outlook which made him, like his father, hostile to supernatural explanations. As an agnostic, Spencer was more radical than his father, who could be regarded as a scientific deist. The two remained on good terms and corresponded regularly until his father died. The letters between them indicate mutual respect.

The influence of his uncle probably made Spencer even more radical since, for three years from the age of 13, Thomas Spencer (1796-1853), who was a lecturer and pamphleteer on matters of social reform, was in charge of Herbert's education. Thomas was interested in political action and favoured, among other things, church reform. Encouraged by his uncle, Spencer identified himself with most of the reform movements of the day. For example, his uncle was interested in the Complete Suffrage Union and, for a short time, Herbert was secretary of its Derby branch. His uncle also influenced his decision to write and at 16 he started a literary career with his short articles, critical of the Poor Laws, appearing in a local magazine.

By the time he was ready for work Spencer was already temperamentally opposed to all kinds of authority and was determined to pursue a literary career. His work as a railway engineer between 1837 and 1841 and again between 1845 and 1848 added another dimension to his education. The industrial revolution engaged the attention of a great many Englishmen. The construction of railway lines opening up the country was regarded by many Victorians as the single most important manifestation brought about by technological innovation in the nineteenth century. Spencer, engaged in surveying railway cuttings and inclines and preparing schemes for parliamentary approval, became aware of the ruthless drive to spread the network of railways. Some of his views on the social implications of this aspect of industrial development, of which he had first-hand experience, appeared in his article 'Railway Morals and Railway Policy' in the *Edinburgh Review* of October 1854. Many years later, in 1892, he wrote a letter to an Earl of the Realm opposing the extension of a railway line through an inner London suburb unless the local residents were safeguarded from 'the enormous evil inflicted upon them by railway companies at every town in the kingdom' (Duncan, 1908, p. 314).

In addition to his interest in social affairs, work on the railways also added to his scientific knowledge. The fossils he unearthed in the railway cuttings stimulated Spencer's study of geology. Thus, his brief experience of industrial life

enabled him to speak to his fellow Victorians with some authority. At the same time, he missed no opportunity to increase his knowledge of the natural sciences.

From an early age Spencer appears to have been determined to give up engineering for a literary career, and between 1841 and 1845 he tried without much success to make his living as a journalist. His first work of any consequence – a series of letters entitled 'The Proper Sphere of Government' – was published in *The Nonconformist*, to which he also contributed reports about the Complete Suffrage Union. Nevertheless, his initial failure to enter the literary field was not, in retrospect, without its compensations. He went back to engineering for a short time before becoming sub-editor of *The Economist* in 1848. This periodical had just been founded by an opponent of the Corn Laws and its editorial policy consistently and determinedly advocated *laissez-faire* as the correct way of running society. According to J. D. Y. Peel, Spencer simply amassed and presented factual material for *The Economist* and 'was more influenced by, rather than an influence on it – or rather, was simply in accord with it' (Peel, 1971, p. 77). The extreme position of the periodical was evident in its attacks on legislation which 'rested on ignorance of the laws of nature, and could have no beneficial consequences' (ibid., p. 78).

The view that society should be organized in accordance with the laws of nature and that the best government was that which interfered least in the lives of individuals were convictions advanced consistently by Spencer in his subsequent writings. It was his aim to discover, within his evolutionary framework, natural scientific laws in accordance with which individuals could, without interference from the state, run their own affairs.

These views found expression in his first book, *Social Statics*, which was published in 1850, when he was 30. The book's contents were clearly in line with those espoused in *The Economist* up until the time he left it in 1853. For example, in *Social Statics* Spencer enunciated the equal-freedom doctrine which asserted that the freedom of each person was limited only to the extent that the liberties of other people were not infringed. This view he reaffirmed at the age of 79 when he reviewed his life's work. His chapter on education in *Social Statics*, in which he applied his principles, was from the start controversial; some critics became particularly incensed by his view that there should be no state involvement in education. As national systems developed throughout the nineteenth century, his view was ignored or considered bizarre, except perhaps in the United States where the power of the federal government in education was resisted. Today, the dangers of state control of education are more clearly recognized, at least as it operated in the former Soviet Union. In the United Kingdom, too, the rights of parents to decide how their children should be educated in state schools are running up against the power of local authorities to run schools. While Spencer's extreme views about parental influence and state control are contrary to established opinion today, his warnings are reflected in the desire of present-day educational policy-makers to decentralize educational control and increase parental freedom of choice.

In 1853 a legacy from his uncle Thomas made it possible for Spencer to leave *The Economist* and subsequently to devote himself, as had long been his wish, to writing. By this time his self-education had been completed. Compared with his contemporaries, Spencer lacked many of the formal educational ingredients required of a potential philosopher or scientist. By philosophers, he was not regarded as a true philosopher; by scientists, he was not considered a professional scientist. On the other hand, through his own observations, the intellectual atmosphere provided by his father and uncle, industrial life as an engineer and his work for a radical periodical, he had educated himself admirably for the monumental task he set himself when, in 1853, he became a 'professional' author.

In the absence of an institutional position in which he would have been required to teach or undertake research, his achievements were enormous. On the one hand, he was a radical critic of the status quo and against authority of any kind. On the other hand he had, by 1860, deduced an intellectual conception of the whole universe and spent the next thirty-six years of his life filling in the details of his system. As an extremely talented amateur, elements of his *The Synthetic Philosophy*, finally completed in 1896, together with his correspondence with distinguished scientists like Darwin, Huxley and John Tyndall, and philosophers like J. S. Mill, testify to the fact that, without being 'one of them', he was accepted as 'being in their league'. It was a remarkable achievement.

The socio-economic and political context

As a self-educated academic, Spencer had many counterparts in the commercial and economic life of his day. In the United Kingdom, the nineteenth century was a period when the application of science in industry, which had started in the eighteenth century, gained momentum. Many self-made men, with minimal formal education, contributed to the growth of industry and its infrastructure; the rural society was transformed into an urban society. The abundance of coal facilitated the development of the iron industry; between 1788 and 1839 the production of pig iron grew from 68,000 to 1,347,000 tons. Steam-driven machines revolutionized the production of wool and cotton. Lancashire became the centre of the cotton industry; the West Riding of Yorkshire the centre of the woolen industry. In 1835 England produced over 60% of the cotton goods consumed in the world. The network of canals was extended to link the industrial districts in the north of England with the centres of distribution and the ports. To these developments was added the growth of a railway system first opened in 1825, founded by George Stephenson, an engineer for a railway company in northern England. Spencer, as stated, was employed for some time as a railway engineer.

In the field of industrial development, there were great opportunities for enterprising men to make their own careers. Many of them from small beginnings helped to build up successful industries. These opportunities and their attendant success help to explain the optimism of the time and a disregard of the

social evils which were fictionalized in such novels as *A Christmas Carol* and *Oliver Twist* by Charles Dickens. As a social reformer, Dickens revealed the dirt and brutality of schools, particularly those in the north of England. The squalor of Dickensian city life for the underprivileged is the other side of a situation in which a prosperous middle class grew in size and demanded for its children schools comparable to the ancient 'public' schools, of which Eton, Harrow and Winchester were among the best known. Spencer criticized the schools of his day, but his commitment to economic liberalism and non-interference by the state prevented him from advocating the establishment of appropriate social services for those disadvantaged by the uncontrolled development of industry and commerce. Paradoxically, the population explosion, giving rise to Malthusian predictions of disaster, was seen by Spencer as a cause of progress and made social organization inevitable.

Politically, Spencer lived in an age of dissent and, as we have seen, was from an early age associated with many local radical movements. For the dissenters, the abolition of hereditary social advantages was the key to greater opportunities and self-betterment. Various groups were able to unite against the aristocracy, the landowners and the hereditary principle. On the issue of control of education, the Methodists aligned themselves with dissent. Spencer's family were Methodists. Faced with radical alternatives to the status quo, Spencer opted for co-operative individualism rather than socialism. He was, for example, against free libraries and state education on the grounds that they were socialist. 'And much as I abhor war, I abhor socialism in all its forms quite as much' (Duncan, 1908, p. 422). As a radical in an age of radicalism, Spencer was a conservative. Yet he captured the mood of the times and spoke for the members of the growing middle class.

Spencer's synthetic philosophy

Spencer's philosophy was in tune with his individualism and optimism. Individuals free to adapt to a changing society made progress inevitable. When comlete, *The Synthetic Philosophy* represented his life's work. During the 1850s, he had published enough to make his views well-known. In 1855 his *The Principles of Psychology* appeared. His earlier psychology had its origins in phrenology – in vogue at the time through George Combe's *The Constitution of Man* which, because it asserted that an understanding of a person could be gained by studying the shape of their head, no doubt appealed to Spencer's interest in making the study of psychology scientific. Combe's view of education was similar to that of Spencer in that he thought it should be secular and scientific. Spencer's evolutionary psychology broke new ground but, according to Harold Barrington, should now be regarded as pre-psychology. In any case, it was extended and incorporated into his *The Synthetic Philosophy* which had been conceived in its entirety by about 1858.

In the preface to *First Principles*, which appeared in 1862, Spencer laid out his scheme. At regular intervals he filled in its component parts by publishing *The Principles of Biology* in two parts in 1864 and 1867, the first part of *The Principles of Sociology* in 1876 and *The Principles of Ethics* in two volumes between 1892 and 1893. As mentioned, *The Principles of Psychology* had already been published in 1855. The whole scheme, planned to take twenty-four years, took him thirty-six years to complete. In addition, he also published a great many articles on social issues and scientific topics. His book *Education: Intellectual, Moral and Physical*, which brought together previously published articles, appeared in 1861. *Descriptive Sociology*, prepared with the help of several collaborators, included comparative studies of races throughout the world.

Spencer pioneered the scientific study of psychology and sociology but, from his first essay on 'The Proper Sphere of Government' (1843), his ultimate purpose 'lying behind all proximate purposes [was] that of finding for the principles of right and wrong, in conduct at large, a scientific basis' (Spencer, 1879, p. iii). Science informed all his work.

He provoked controversy, having something to say on most of the issues of the day. In his own lifetime his work was recognized by scientists and philosophers at home and abroad. He was offered honorary degrees and membership in scientific academies in the United Kingdom and in more than a dozen foreign countries. He refused all these invitations. In the United Kingdom, the publication of the last volume of *The Synthetic Philosophy* evoked an outburst of sympathetic appreciation from a wide range of scholars in recognition of his intellectual power and his high moral purpose. More than eighty of the most distinguished academics, politicians and literary figures in the country asked him to sit for a portrait 'with a view to its being deposited in one of our national collections for the benefit of ourselves and those who come after us' (Duncan, 1908, p. 383). William Gladstone, a distinguished prime minister, went so far as to break his rule of not joining groups of signatories and agreed to be 'set down as an approver of the request to Mr Spencer' (ibid.). Spencer eventually reluctantly agreed to have his portrait painted; in any event, he did not like it.

Further evidence of the liking and respect shown him by his contemporaries was revealed when he found it difficult to continue publication of *The Synthetic Philosophy*. An appeal for money was launched on his behalf and signed by distinguished academics, such as J. S. Mill, George Grote, Charles Darwin, T. H. Huxley, Alexander Bain, John Herschel, G. H. Lewes, John Tyndall, Charles King, T. H. Buckle and William De Morgan. With some of these men – Huxley, for example – he had prolonged disputes. His letters reveal, however, that he drew a sharp distinction between personal and impersonal criticism. He discussed issues on their merits and seldom descended to personal attacks. The tone in which he conducted debates helps to explain why, in spite of his critical rejection of established positions and his personal foibles, he was on good terms with the English intelligentsia. For example, he was a member of the exclusive X Club, of which there were only nine members, all of whom, with the exception of Spencer,

were members of the most prestigious scientific organization in the United Kingdom: the Royal Society. Attempts were made to induce Spencer to become a member of that society, but he refused (as he did with many other honours) on the grounds that had the society invited him earlier, instead of hindering his work, he might have accepted. Members of the X Club wielded an enormous influence over scientific affairs. Spencer was, indeed, a member of the intellectual 'establishment'.

His position was recognized when, in 1868, he was elected to the Athenaeum – a London club where intellectuals met – and for some time he was on its committee. He spent a great deal of time at the club and, by all accounts, became a good 'clubman', even if a pedantic member of the committee. Although claiming himself to be brusque – and, certainly, in refusing the many honours he was offered by institutions in many countries he did not mince words – he was described as sympathetic, companionable, hospitable, considerate and generous (ibid., p. 499-500). He liked children and enjoyed staying with friends. A keen sportsman, he was particularly fond of fishing and billiards. His was a complex character, yet his qualities outweighed his defects.

His foibles were well known. He was cantankerous, vain, sensitive to criticism, dogmatic and very self-confident. Some of his characteristics were, however, endearing. Huxley wrote: 'if ever Spencer wrote a tragedy, its plot would be the slaying of a beautiful deduction by an ugly fact' (ibid., p. 502). Again, when Beatrice Webb commented on Spencer's contribution to the theory of evolution, Huxley remarked: 'He is the most original of thinkers, though he has never invented a new thought' (Webb, 1926, p. 27). His willingness to tell more experienced people how to do such things as bring up their children gave rise to some amusing situations. While paying great attention to the smallest detail of domestic management, he was 'a most impracticable administrator'. His serious nature was well known. On one occasion in Spencer's presence John Tyndall said of him: 'He'd be a much nicer fellow if he had a good swear now and then' (Duncan, 1908, p. 510). The thought of Spencer swearing caused hilarity among those present.

Spencer's theory of evolution

Spencer's originality lies in his formulation and application of the laws of evolution to the scientific study of psychology, sociology, biology, education and ethics. John Dewey, in a chapter entitled 'The Philosophical Work of Herbert Spencer' in his *Characters and Events* (1929), pointed out that the theory of evolution had a long history in European philosophy. In its nineteenth-century reformulation, it created enormous controversy because it ran contrary to Christian belief in the story of creation. Charles Darwin is regarded as the nineteenth century scientist who re-discovered evolution. His *On the Origin of Species* appeared in 1859. Very modestly, Spencer pointed out that his version of evolution had been published some years before Darwin's book appeared. Certainly, the theory

was fully developed in *First Principles* published in 1862. What is clear, however, in the words of Darwin himself, is that in *On the Origin of Species* he restricted the application of the theory to biological changes. Spencer did not. Analyzing change in *First Principles*, he deduced the laws of evolution from changes in the solar system, the Earth's structure and climate, in plants and animals, in individual men and in society. Change, in accordance with these universal laws, included processes of integration and differentiation.

Integrative changes in the social organism were clearly and abundantly exemplified by Spencer. 'Uncivilized societies display them when wandering families, such as we see among the Bushmen, join into tribes of considerable numbers' (Spencer, 1862, p. 316). 'The progress from rude, small and simple tools to perfect, complex and large machines is a progress in integration' (ibid., p. 324). In modern machines, a number of smaller simple machines are united. 'Evolution then, under its primary aspect, is a change from a less coherent form to a more coherent form' (ibid., p. 327). This is a universal process.

Of more consequence to an understanding of modern societies is the process of differentiation as change from a homogeneous state to a heterogeneous state. As before, Spencer took his examples from all fields of scientific knowledge: in geology a molten mass is changed into mountains; in geography there is a differentiation of climates. Differentiation takes place in plants and animals. Man has grown more heterogeneous; for example, civilized man has a more heterogeneous nervous system and his thoughts are more heterogeneous than uncivilized man. In the human being this 'change from an indefinite, incoherent homogeneity, to a definite coherent heterogeneity' (ibid., p. 389) was illustrated by changes from homogeneous infant noises to more and more differentiated and definite sounds.

Social change from homogeneity to heterogeneity was exemplified in the progress of civilization in every tribe and nation. Society, in its first and lowest form, was a homogeneous aggregate of individuals. Every man, for example, was a warrior, tool-maker, fisherman and builder. All women performed the same drudgeries. Every family was self-sufficient and may well have lived apart from the rest. Chieftainship was the first sign of a differentiation of function. Power then became hereditary and religion co-existed with government. The next stage of social evolution was characterized by laws, manners and ceremonial usages. The specialization of labour occurred. Transport systems stimulated the development of districts with their own occupational characteristics. Society eventually became differentiated into classes. Spencer concluded:

> Comparing the rule of a savage chief with that of a civilized government, aided by its subordinate local governments and their officers, down to the police in the streets, we see how, as men have advanced from tribes of tens to nations of millions, the regulative process has grown large in amount; how, guided by written laws, it has passed from vagueness and irregularity to comparative precision; and how it has sub-divided into processes increasingly multiform (ibid., p. 395).

These forms of differentiation were accompanied by differentiation in language, painting and sculpture, dancing and poetry. Spencer concluded: 'From the remotest past which Science can fathom, up to the novelties of yesterday, an essential trait of Evolution has been the transformation of the homogeneous into the heterogeneous' (ibid., p. 359). Along with change from homogeneity to heterogeneity, Spencer recognized moves from the indefinite to the definite, from simplicity to complexity, and from confusion to order.

Darwin is usually credited with what is called 'social Darwinism'. It could more accurately be termed 'social Spencerism'. The examples of his analysis of social change given here are designed to demonstrate the wealth of examples Spencer used to establish his deductive hypothesis that societies, like everything else, change according to the scientific laws of evolution.

He also applied the biological notion of 'survival of the fittest' to societies. Modifications arise as a consequence of social differentiation and persist if they are well-adapted to the environment. They will eventually perish if they are not well-adapted. Spencer also held steadfastly, against scientific consensus, to a hotly contested biological theory advanced by Lamarck, who maintained that acquired characteristics were passed on to one's offspring. A majority of scientists rejected this view as the century progressed. In social affairs it has major implications. It means that characteristics acquired by parents through education can be inherited by their children. Thus, the characteristics of national character – a concept used by nineteenth century comparative educators – could be inherited. Racial characteristics, if not genetic, may also be passed on from one generation to the next. It is an assumption which can be used by both racists and anti-racists.

Convinced that all changes are evolutionary, Spencer argued from analogy in the absence of direct evidence. He used the analogy of the simple homogeneous human ovum which grows into an adult with specialized features – legs, arms, muscles, brain and so on – which help the human adult to adapt to his/her environment and survive; this justified his argument that, as societies evolve, functions become more specialized. In fact, his own sociological evidence was enough to persuade not only him, but the nineteenth-century sociologists in America and Europe, that homogeneous rural communities were changing to complex urban societies. Men like William Graham Sumner, Emile Durkheim, Ferdinand Tonnies, Karl Marx and Lester Ward, each in his own way, pointed to the fact that the political and economic functions once performed by all people had become the responsibility of specialists. Specialist agencies, like national and local governments and factories, had emerged in which could be performed specialist functions. The theories of social change favoured by Sumner and William Ogburn (in *Social Change*) owed something to Spencer's theory. Indeed, his theory of social evolution was itself a significant forerunner of the theories of social change enunciated by a succession of nineteenth and twentieth century sociologists, who saw differentiation of function as the key to an understanding of change.

Spencer on education

Spencer became interested in education when still young. He thought at one time of becoming a teacher. At another point in time there was a plan to set up a school with his father. He taught for a mere three months. Without any real experience in teaching, he denounced state education in letters published in *The Nonconformist* in 1842, when he was only 22 years old. Spencer argued that truth had always originated from the clash of different minds and that 'establishment' education would, by its very nature, inhibit change.

During the 1850s, in various articles he consistently argued the *laissez-faire* case against the dangers of state interference in the lives of individuals through state education. If this was a political argument, Spencer also questioned the need for formal education in the light of his emerging theory of evolution. Arguing from analogy, he asked in *Social Statics* (1850, pp. 208-09) why education was necessary at all since in biology the seed and the embryo grow to maturity without external aid. Why should not a child grow spontaneously into a normal human being? In their evolution, children show all the characteristics of aboriginal man as mankind has evolved from an uncivilized state to a civilized one. Spencer considered that, in the stage of transition from one state to another, individuals had lost the dispositions appropriate to the life of savages and had not yet acquired those needed for civilized life. Under these conditions education should restrain uncivilized characteristics in children. Born, therefore, of man's imperfections, education as a form of coercion would become unnecessary. In the short term, in accordance with the laws of nature, education would evolve through its adaptation to changes in society.

Some comparative educationists have insisted, in a less deterministic way, that the evolution of education reflected changes in society. Since 1945, the climate of opinion has changed. Influenced by the views of academics from the United States and UNESCO, many practitioners have asserted that the provision of education could change society. Spencer would have disagreed. As already stated, he considered that, as society evolved in accordance with these laws, organized education would not be needed at all. Even in a period of transition, all that education can do is to retard the process of social change. To add to his political objections about the role of the state in education, Spencer found convincing arguments from his theory of evolution.

His views would not be accepted by the planners of today. There is little evidence, however, to support the optimistic claims of the founders of UNESCO that universal literacy would raise standards of living, promote democracy and ensure peace. Spencer's analysis of the role of education in social change was apparent even during the 1850s when he prepared four articles on education which were published in: *The North British Review* ('The Art of Education', May 1854); the *British Quarterly Review* ('Moral Discipline for Children', April 1858 and 'Physical Training', April 1859); and the *Westminister Review* ('What Knowledge Is of Most Worth?', July 1859). These articles were brought together

in an extremely popular book entitled *Education: Intellectual, Moral and Physical*, on which Spencer's fame as an educator rests. Published in 1861, it went into many editions and sold many thousands of copies.

As was his wont, Spencer confidently attacked established educational orthodoxy. True to form, while his experience of teaching was minimal and his serious professional study of education negligible, he was prepared to pronounce aggressively on child development, the curriculum and methods of teaching. His contacts with the children of his friends were not universally successful, but he did not hesitate in giving advice on how they should be brought up. It cannot be said, therefore, that his educational proposals were induced from experience. They were, however, very much in line with progressive educational thought today. Gabriel Compayre, who had prepared books on several distinguished educators, including Rousseau and Pestalozzi, maintained in his book *Herbert Spencer and Scientific Education* that Spencer's ideas on education had been anticipated by Rousseau. Spencer denied having read *Emile* and claimed that he owed none of his ideas on education to it. He did, however, make frequent and favourable reference to Pestalozzi's theory of education, while deploring the extent to which the Swiss educator's practice fell short of it.

In education, as in other fields, the amateur attracted attention. In view of Spencer's very critical comments on the educational establishment, it is surprising that in 1868, within eight years of the appearance of *Education*, he had been included in R. H. Quick's *Essays on Educational Reformers* as one of the significant European educational innovators. Spencer, along with Richard Mulcaster, Roger Ascham and John Locke, was one of the Englishman to warrant a chapter to himself in Quick's history. John Milton, J. Dury and Dr Arnold were mentioned, as it were, in passing. Quick's account of Spencer's little book was hostile, but he concluded:

> I have ventured in turn to differ on some points from Mr Spencer; but I have failed to give an adequate notion of the work I have been discussing if the reader has not perceived that it is not only one of the most readable, but also one of the most important books on education in the English language (Quick, 1904, p. 469).

At the beginning of the twentieth century, a pioneer in the teaching of science, H. E. Armstrong, in his book (again now in vogue in the United Kingdom) *The Teaching of Scientific Method* (1903), advised all teachers to read Spencer's *Education* so that 'they may have clear ideas on the subject of education' (ibid., p. 381). Many years later, F. A. Cavenagh, in his introduction to a 1932 edition of Spencer's book, stated that while Spencer's views no longer impress, *Education* 'is still read; popular editions continue to appear; and every year students in training find it stimulating and provocative' (Spencer, 1861/1932, p. xx). J. A. Lauwerys, closely involved in the establishment of UNESCO and himself a scientific humanist in Spencer's tradition, wrote in a lecture at the University of London in 1951: 'For two generations, students in our training colleges and departments of education were brought up on a diet of which Spencer's

Education was an important ingredient. And this is strange because the very people who prescribed it for study were its harshest critics' (Lauwerys, 1952, p. 162). It must be assumed that Spencer's views had some influence on the young teachers who read his book.

His assertion that science should replace the classical languages in the curriculum, and indeed should constitute the whole curriculum, antagonized the teachers of his day. It has also alienated twentieth-century educators who were prepared to accept that science subjects should occupy more of the school curriculum than previously but were not prepared to accept that they should replace language studies or, more generally, the humanities. Perhaps only in the former Soviet Union was science accorded the position in education that Spencer considered it deserved. Certainly, his views on science in the school curriculum cannot be said to have influenced British educational practice in secondary schools to any great extent.

On the contrary, many of his other assertions, based, again by analogy, on the evolution of an embryo into a mature adult, find expression in British primary schools. The answer to this apparent paradox lies in the extent to which Spencer had a vogue (of which more later) in the United States and his ideas were subsequently reintroduced into the United Kingdom through the writings of Dewey and other progressive educators from that country. In British primary schools today many practitioners acknowledge their debt to Rousseau, Dewey and Piaget, but not to Spencer.

Even though his *First Principles*, in which the laws of evolution were fully explained, was published somewhat later than the articles which constitute *Education*, two of the principles of evolution inform his analysis of education. Spencer himself claimed: 'The theory of evolution furnished guidance [in writing the article on education] as the ascent through lower forms of life has been affected by the discipline of enjoying the pleasure and suffering the pains which follow this or that form of conduct' (1904, p. 18).

Two other fundamental evolutionary principles permeate his analysis of education. The first is that education evolves in a way similar to that in which individuals and society evolve. Indeed: 'There cannot fail to be a relationship between the successive systems of education, and the successive social states with which they have co-existed' (Spencer, 1861/1932, p. 61). Secondly, Spencer frequently wrote about the increased heterogeneity and complexity of education systems in the process of their evolution. Perhaps, if his articles on education had been written a few years later, his view that homogeneous education had given way to greater heterogeneity might have received greater attention. This has evidently been the case in science. Natural philosophy became, in the hands of specialists, astronomy, physics, chemistry and biology. In each of these subjects special fields of inquiry, like heat, light, sound and electricity, emerged in physics; the two branches of chemistry – inorganic and organic – became further differentiated; and in biology, special fields like physiology and morphology emerged. Again, in accordance with his evolutionary principle, in many countries the

primary school curriculum is far less differentiated than that offered in secondary schools. Secondary school-teachers are more specialized than primary school-teachers.

Spencer, somewhat inconsistently, considered that education lagged behind social change – a view taken by twentieth century followers of William Ogburn who accepted his theory of 'social lag'. Much of what Spencer wrote about the education of his day was negative. His positive recommendations were very similar to those expressed by Rousseau in *Emile*. Today, teachers in the United Kingdom and the United States accept them uncritically as part of a new orthodoxy. It is, therefore, worthwhile to examine in some detail what he wrote in the four articles which make up *Education* about the aims or purpose of education, attitudes to children, methods of teaching, discipline and the curriculum.

Spencer complained that what was taught in schools was of no practical value. He used many examples to show that ornamental or decorative subjects were more prized than useful ones. In nine cases out of ten, he claimed, the Latin and Greek learned at school served no practical purpose. Indeed, boys were drilled in these subjects to show that they had received the education of a gentlemen – a badge indicating a certain social position which commanded respect. Dancing, deportment, piano playing, singing and drawing served the same purpose in the education of girls. It was not the intrinsic value of knowledge that determined what was taught, but the respect and social power that its possession conferred on individuals. Knowledge as an instrument of social control is the theme of much sociological analysis today.

The chapter on 'Intellectual Education' in *Education* was really about methods of teaching and attitudes toward children. Its recommendations were most obviously derived from Spencer's theory of evolution. For example, he pointed out that in the evolution of societies an increase in political liberty and the abolition of laws restricting individual action had been accompanied by progress towards non-coercive education – though it must be remembered that the latter lagged behind the former. Old educational practices based on a belief in the wickedness of children were in line with repressive social systems. Uniformity of belief – religious, political and educational – influenced by Aristotle had, however, under Protestantism given way to a multiplicity of sects and political parties.

In his analysis of its evolution, Spencer contrasted the characteristics of education in the past with the characteristics of education in the present. Learning by rote had given way to learning through the child's spontaneous processes. Teaching the rules had been replaced by the teaching of principles. It was accepted that for children the learning of grammar should come last, not first. Having grasped the principles, young people would be able to solve a variety of new cases as they arise, as well as being able to deal with old ones.

Learning through independent inquiry and discovery are advocated in British primary schools today. It was one of the changes in education observed with approval by Spencer. So too was the importance given to the cultivation in

children of their powers of observation. The spontaneous activity of children – in the form of play – was at last being recognized as a legitimate way of acquiring knowledge.

Object lessons were favoured by Spencer, although he considered that they were badly conducted in practice. The old method of presenting truths in the abstract had been replaced by presenting them in the concrete. He illustrated this change by referring to geographical and geometrical models. Finally, for Spencer, the most significant change in the evolution of education was the desire to make learning enjoyable rather than painful. This was shown in the interest taken in play, nursery rhymes, fairy tales and in lessons which should be brought to an end before the children showed signs of weariness. Most of these beliefs inform the rhetoric of British primary school-teachers today.

Spencer concluded that the common characteristic of these changes was that they showed an increasing conformity with the methods of nature, that is, in accordance with the natural mental development of children. He stated: 'there is a certain sequence in which the faculties spontaneously develop, and a certain kind of knowledge which each requires during its development; and it is for us to ascertain this sequence, and supply this knowledge' (ibid., p. 71). Today, Piagetian theories of child development are widely accepted as the grounds on which to establish sequences of learning.

Spencer himself maintained that it was not possible to perfect a system of education until a rational psychology had been established. In accordance with his epistemology, he was prepared to specify some of the principles on which good teaching should be based. Since the mind moves from homogeneity towards heterogeneity, education should proceed from the simple to the complex; teaching should begin at once with a few subjects, to which other subjects should be progressively added. Secondly, since in its process of development the mind advances from the indefinite to the definite, so:

> in education we must be content to set out with crude notions. These we must aim to make gradually clearer by facilitating the acquisition of experiences such as will correct, first their greatest errors, and afterwards their successively less marked errors. And the scientific formulae must be given only as fast as the conceptions are perfected (ibid., p. 81).

He repeated his contention that lessons should move from the concrete to the abstract so that, through the medium of examples, the mind is led from the particular to the general.

More controversially, Spencer maintained that the education of the child should follow the education of mankind, considered historically. In short the individual's mind should pass through the same stages as the general mind – 'education should be a repetition of civilization in little' (ibid., p. 83). There is no doubt that, until recently, the content of science syllabuses in most countries fol-

lowed the historical development of the subject; in physics the sequence in which topics were taught was: mechanics, heat, light, sound, magnetism and electricity.

Spencer's fifth recommendation stemmed from his assertion that organized scientific knowledge can be achieved only after a fund of observations had been accumulated.

In the light of present-day approaches to primary education in the United Kingdom, what Spencer wrote is very significant. He said that the process of self-development should be encouraged through education. 'Children should be led to make their own investigations, and to draw their own inferences. They should be told as little as possible, and induced to discover as much as possible' (ibid., p. 94). There can be few such succinct statements of modern methods of learning by discovery, which should be pleasurable and based upon the spontaneous activity to which children are prone. Courses in which pupils show no interest should be abandoned. Self-instruction was a fundamental principle held by Spencer in the recommendations he made about methods of teaching. This would enable the child to evolve in accordance with the natural development of its faculties.

Spencer proposed that instead of acquiring knowledge for the social prestige and power it conferred, education should be of practical use to its recipients. To the question 'of what use is it?', Spencer answered that it should help individuals to live satisfactorily. 'To prepare us for complete living is the function which education has to discharge; and the only rational mode of judging of an educational course is to judge in what degree it discharges such function' (ibid., p. 10). Spencer claimed that before a rational curriculum could be established with this aim in mind, it was necessary to determine the relative values of knowledge.

His curriculum theory broke new ground. Unlike the essentialism of Plato and Aristotle and the encyclopaedism of Comenius and Condorcet, it was not subject-centred but rather activity-centred.

In asking the question 'what knowledge is of most worth?', Spencer answered that it is the knowledge needed to pursue the leading kinds of activity which constitute human life. He wrote:

> [These activities] may be naturally arranged into: 1) those activities which directly minister to self-preservation; 2) those activities which, by securing the necessaries of life, indirectly administer to self-preservation; 3) those activities which have for their end the rearing and discipline of offspring; 4) those activities which are involved in the maintenance of proper social and political relations; 5) those miscellaneous activities which fill up the leisure part of life, devoted to the gratification of the tastes and feelings (ibid.).

The order in which Spencer listed the activities corresponded to their order of importance; however, he recognized that they were not definitely separable but were inextricably mixed. In all these areas of activity, nonetheless, a knowledge of science is essential. Satisfactory, direct self-preservation demands a knowledge of physiology. Indirect self-preservation requires a knowledge of those sciences –

mechanics, biology, geology, chemistry and physics – on which industrial life depends. Spencer asserted: 'Some acquaintance with the first principles of physiology and the elementary truths of psychology is indispensable for the right bringing up of children' (ibid., p. 36).

Spencer was appalled by the failure of education to prepare parents for parenthood. As for citizens, history, as taught, threw no light on the science of society. What was needed if people were to discharge their civic functions was an education in descriptive and comparative sociology, both of which must be interpreted in the light of biology and physiology. Spencer also saw a science component in the activities undertaken by individuals during their leisure time. Art, music and poetry evoke emotions, but they can best be appreciated through a knowledge of science. Science not only underlies sculpture, painting and music, but true poetry is itself scientific. To be good, poetry must pay attention to those laws of nervous action which speech obeys. While Spencer took the argument to extremes, there is a way in which knowledge of science makes it possible to better appreciate the fine arts. Extreme though Spencer's views may seem, a case can be made that today every societal problem has a scientific component and that finding solutions involves an understanding of some elements of science.

R. H. Quick criticized Spencer's advocacy of the exclusive use of science in all five of the activities he identified. Although he conceded that science had an important role to play in industry, he considered it was impossible to teach all the sciences to everyone and that young people about to enter the world of work would be better prepared if their minds had been equipped to acquire knowledge rather than being given a great deal of special information. This view, that education should prepare individuals to acquire knowledge when it was needed, has only recently been challenged by educators in the United Kingdom, some of whom now want schools to equip pupils to enter industry through vocational training. To Spencer's argument, Quick's second response was that, in many cases, a knowledge of science was of no practical value; this indicated that neither Spencer nor Quick recognized the difference between a knowledge of science which enables a person to perform a task and a knowledge which enables them to appreciate or judge the effectiveness of a job undertaken by somebody else. Pericles drew such a distinction in politics. For him, only a few can formulate policy, but in a democracy everyone should be in a position to evaluate it. Today, in the industrial world, few are in a position to invent machines and manufacture consumer goods, but everybody should be able to assess the consequences of introducing modern machines into the industrial processes. The difference is between the science needed by experts to produce goods and the science needed by everyone to evaluate the products produced by the few.

Perhaps the most serious weakness in Spencer's account of an activity-based curriculum is the fact that he failed, in accordance with his own theory of child development, to state clearly at what stage in the evolution of children scientific knowledge should be provided. When should physiology or education be introduced? And at what levels of sophistication? Spencer did not say. His curriculum

seems too demanding for primary schoolchildren. It might meet the needs of secondary school pupils, but it seems better designed for adults preparing to become teachers. For many years, health education was part of the course for aspiring teachers; it included information on how children might learn the elements of self-preservation. In the 1960s in the United Kingdom, many university departments of education exposed students to training in the so-called 'disciplines': psychology, philosophy, sociology and history. Spencer would have approved.

Teachers should be aware of the implications of these studies for education. Wherever necessary they should be able to pass on, in an appropriate form, the findings of sociology and psychology to their pupils. Activity-based learning in British primary schools following Piagetian stages of child development, including an emphasis on art, has lacked the scientific content which Spencer thought essential. Experience in the United States has shown how difficult it was to introduce a Spencerian curriculum in high schools. Progressive educators in that country have tried to do so throughout the twentieth century.

Spencer's ideas in the United States

Spencer wanted his work to be known in the United States. He found a staunch ally in Edward Livingston Youmans who, when he read Spencer's circular in 1860 on the plan for his *Synthetic Philosophy*, immediately promised support. It was the start of a long, cordial friendship during which Youmans promoted Spencer's writings, often in the face of opposition from the author, and arranged for him to visit the United States. Spencer was acclaimed with traditional American generosity. He recounted his reception in his *Autobiography*. Managers of railways and hotel proprietors went out of their way to make him welcome. He received the most generous private hospitality and was guest at a magnificent banquet held in his honour by leading members of American society. While genuinely touched by the warmth of his welcome, Spencer 'never felt quite at ease with the demonstrative activities of some of his American admirers' (Duncan, 1908, p. 228) and reminded them that things that would be considered quite normal on one side of the Atlantic were treated differently on the other side. The theory of evolution was a case in point. Youmans wrote to him saying: 'Evidently there is more religious independence of thought in England than here [America]. For your critics, at any rate, take interest in the subject, while there is too much timidity here to venture upon either side of the discussion' (ibid., p. 254). On the other hand, Henry Ward Beecher, in a letter to Spencer in 1866, wrote: 'The peculiar condition of American society has made your writings far more fruitful and quickening here than in Europe' (ibid., p. 128).

Beecher's opinion was probably nearer the truth than that expressed by Youmans, who had no wish to offend Spencer. Evolution was a topic which aroused deep passions and furious debate in the United States. Woodbridge Riley, in *American Thought from Puritanism to Pragmatism and Beyond*, claimed that

'from the day of Puritanism to the day of pragmatism there have been so many skirmishes, battles, and general engagements as almost to merit the name of warfare between evolution and revelation in America' (1925, p. 173). In particular, with reference to the British contribution to the debate, he wrote:

> The outburst of controversy upon the appearance of *On the Origin of Species* in 1859 was, therefore, no unexpected thing. . . . The battle was extended and furious . . . there was a [nationwide] continuous campaign of scientific controversy which lasted even longer than the civil strife which rent the country (ibid).

Certainly Spencer's writings were required reading for many American university courses during the second half of the nineteenth century. Not all theologians were convinced and, indeed, the college authorities at Yale objected when William Sumner, a follower of Spencer, prescribed the latter's *The Study of Sociology* for one of his classes because of its anti-religious bias (Duncan, 1908, p. 208). Spencer's writings undoubtedly added to a debate which revolved around Darwin's biological theory.

Certainly, the pragmatists entered the debate, as was shown by Wiener in his *Evolution and the Founders of Pragmatism* and R. Hofstadter in *Social Darwinism in American Thought*. According to Wiener, 'the chief question discussed by the founders of pragmatism, beginning with Chauncey Wright, was how far one could legitimately apply Darwin's hypothesis of natural selection to subjects other than biology' (Wiener, 1965, p. 6). Pragmatists, like William James, John Dewey, George Herbert Mead, Boyd H. Bode and William Heard Kilpatrick, were the intellectual children of Darwin who, like Spencer, had demonstrated the importance of change in evolution. The pragmatists concluded that they could do away with permanence, eternal values and all forms of absolutism. Again, to quote Wiener: 'Darwinism and pragmatism were able to combat their conservative theological adversaries only because of the powerful impetus of scientific advances in the second half of the nineteenth century' (ibid., p. 1).

Among the founders of pragmatism, opinions of Spencer's work varied. J. L. Childs claimed that one of the 'primary cultural factors which has conditioned the thought of Dr Dewey is the theory of organic evolution' (1949). Dewey himself admired Spencer's single-mindedness. Dewey recognized that Spencer had conceived a whole system – an idea of all that is in the universe; but, with no interest in history and an isolation from the intellectual currents of the day, he filled in the details over a period of thirty-six years. But such work, according to Dewey, was possible only if the author was immune to the changing play of ideas and cross-currents of interests. For Dewey, the inevitable weakness in Spencer's position was that it eliminated the individual and the subjective.

Charles S. Peirce, one of the most distinguished logicians and scientists among the founders of pragmatism, was scathing in his criticism of Spencer's attempt in *First Principles* to show that evolution was a consequence of the mechanical principle of the conservation of energy. He wrote: 'But his chapter on

the subject is mathematically absurd, and convicts him of being a man who will talk pretentiously of what he knows nothing about' (Wiener, 1965). William James was, according to Ann Low-Beer, carried away by *First Principles*, but subsequently became disenchanted. She stated that James continued to use Spencer's books in his courses but, in a final examination paper, invited students to mention all the inconsistencies in one of Spencer's books. In effect, James abandoned the simplistic behavioural psychology of Spencer in favour of a dynamic view of the mind which can change as well as be influenced by the environment. Thus, while Spencer was required reading in American universities for most of the second half of the nineteenth century, by its end his work in philosophy and science had been replaced by that of specialists in the natural and social sciences.

If the pragmatists were influenced by evolution, their influence on education was greater than on any other aspect of American society. In the climate of opinion created by the pragmatists, Spencer was given credit for inspiring reform in education. Paul Monroe, in his *History of Education*, linked the work of Spencer with that of T. H. Huxley in promoting the scientific tendency in education. Of Spencer, he wrote that among those pressing the claims of science in the nineteenth century, 'the first of these, and yet the most influential at least for Anglo-Saxon thought, was that by Herbert Spencer' (Monroe, 1919, p. 684). Monroe was not alone in his judgement; L. A. Cremin in *The Transformation of the School* (1961) went so far as to claim that the revolution in American educational thought at the end of the nineteenth century had its origins in the work of Herbert Spencer. As in the United Kingdom, not only the progressives took notice of him. He is referred to favourably by conservative thinkers, such as C. A. Bagley, even though he considered Spencer's assertion that teaching should start with the concrete as pernicious and believed, as in England, that enjoyment was merely an accessory in life (1911).

Many of the subjects advocated by Spencer, such as physiology, were introduced into American schools. Most historians of education in the United States, however, associate Spencer's name with a curriculum theory held by progressive educationists. It was articulated in a committee set up by the National Education Association. The Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education issued its report, usually called 'The (Seven) Cardinal Principles of Education', in which it was asserted that in primary and secondary schools the aim of the curriculum should be to enable pupils to cope with: (a) their health; (b) fundamental processes; (c) worthy home membership; (d) vocational efficiency; (e) civic participation; (f) the worthy use of leisure time; and (g) ethical behaviour. These seven areas could be reduced, without distortion, to Spencer's five areas of activity. Members of the Progressive Education Association, set up in 1918, of which Dewey was the leading figure, adopted the latter's problem-solving approach to operationalize the 'Seven Cardinal Principles'. Instead of identifying activities in these areas, progressive educators identified the problems young people were likely to face as adults in the areas of health, earning a living, taking care of a

family, civic participation, leisure-time activities and moral behaviour. In some schools, experimental curricula were worked out collectively in discussions between teachers and pupils. In the absence of established models, the originality of a somewhat modified version of Spencer's curriculum theory created major difficulties when attempts were made to apply it in practice.

The Progressive Education Association tried to do so in its *Eight-year Study* from 1933 to 1941. The study was designed to show whether the customary college entrance requirements were essential to college success, or if pupils on a broader course favoured by progressive educationists could succeed as well as pupils from the college preparatory course in the ordinary high school. The results were inconclusive, but at least they showed that pupils from progressive schools did not inevitably perform less well in college than those from regular schools. The fact remains that the selection of curriculum content has presented secondary school curriculum developers with a formidable task in view of the traditional demands universities and other institutions of higher education place on potential entrants to higher education.

Dewey considered that problems should be solved collectively and scientifically, but the role of science in the progressive school curricula was not as great as Spencer would have wished. Nevertheless, when the Progressive Education Association was disbanded in the 1950s, after its members had been accused by Senator McCarthy of un-American activities, it was true to say that it had completed its reforming task, having disseminated progressive views very widely among American teachers. Criticism of high-school curricula, which follow Spencer's 'activity-based' approach – considered repetitious and lacking in rigour – reached a crescendo in the United States from time to time. Criticism during the McCarthy era in the 1950s is one example. *A Nation at Risk*, prepared by a Presidential committee in the early 1980s, was another recent example of such criticism.

Spencer was ahead of his time in curriculum theory. He can be regarded as one of the important pioneers of modern education. In practice his ideas find uneven expression. In primary schools in the United Kingdom most of his prescriptions about methods of teaching and the treatment of children have been accepted. Curricula in British primary schools were until the 1988 Education Reform Act based on the activities of children and overtly in accordance with their mental and physical development. In American junior and senior high schools there has been continuous tension between the advocates of a curriculum based on problems relevant to children and young adults, and the more conservative educators who want to see a return to the established school subjects or disciplines. In so far as Spencer influenced progressive educators in the United Kingdom and the United States of America he can, as Quick perceived, be regarded as one of the most influential educational reformers. Not a bad achievement for an amateur.

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RUDOLF STEINER

(1861–1925)

Heiner Ullrich

A neo-romantic thinker and reformer

Rudolf Steiner's reforming ideas still have an exceptionally strong, practical impact today in many spheres, especially in education, medicine, agriculture and the pictorial arts. On the other hand, his theoretical scientific and philosophical writings have so far met with little interest and still less acceptance. When his thinking does attract attention it becomes the subject of passionate controversy. Uncritical identification by his followers contrasts with polemic and sweeping criticism by the representatives of academic research. There seems to be no golden mean in the appraisal of Steiner's conceptual world.

One reason resides in the extraordinary variety and scale of his literary and rhetorical output.[1] His often strange and esoteric diction places practically insurmountable obstacles in the path of scientific and philosophical analysis. What is more, few critical biographies have been written about Steiner as yet. Such attempts as have been made tend to be more in the nature of hagiography.[2] To avoid diminishing Steiner's prestige, these works gloss over his frequent borrowings from other writers and the mediocre traits of his own character, and attempt to create harmony out of the evident discontinuity of his life's work.

In this article, we shall confine ourselves to a brief consideration of the established facts about his life and the readily understandable concepts of his approach to the problem of education.

Rudolf Steiner was born on 25 February 1861 in Kraljevec (Croatia), the son of an Austrian railway official. After attending the higher secondary school (without Latin and Greek), he went on to study mathematics, natural history and chemistry at the Technical University in Vienna between 1879 and 1883 with the intention of becoming a grammar-school teacher. However, he failed to complete his course of study and preferred to devote himself to the pursuit of his literary and philosophical interests. After his scholarship had run out, he earned his

living between 1884 and 1890 as a house tutor and educator of the handicapped child of a prosperous Jewish bourgeois family in Vienna.

As a self-taught dilettante in philosophy, and acting on the recommendation of Schroer, his university teacher of literature and his spiritual mentor, he embarked upon a critical edition of the natural scientific writings of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) in the years between 1882 and 1897. From 1890 onwards, he worked as an unpaid assistant in the Goethe and Schiller Archives in Weimar (Germany). His endeavours to define a systematic philosophical basis for Goethe's objective, but at the same time idealistic, mode of thought led on to Steiner's early writings, including his main work, the *Philosophie der Freiheit* (1894) [Philosophy of Freedom]. A preliminary study for that work (subsequently) entitled *Wahrheit und Wissenschaft* [Truth and Science] enabled Steiner to graduate as a doctor of philosophy in 1891 as an external student of Rostock University (Germany).

After completing these publications, Steiner moved to Berlin in 1897. As an editor, author, orator and teacher, he gravitated round the avant-garde literary Bohemia, the workers' movement and the reforming religious thinkers. In 1900, Steiner delivered a series of lectures in the occultist 'Theosophical Library' where he also met Marie von Sivers, who was later to become his second wife.

From 1902 to 1913, he served as general secretary of the German section of the Theosophical Society, which was represented internationally by Annie Besant. As the leader of a movement of spiritual renewal, 'Doctor Steiner' now embarked upon intensive lecturing activity and travelled widely. The stenographic record of over 6,000 lectures given by him, and his thirty or so monographs, bear impressive witness to that work.

In 1913, Steiner parted company with Annie Besant, above all because of their conceptual differences in regard to the esoteric interpretation of the life of Jesus Christ. With the majority of his German followers, he went on to found the Anthroposophical Society. The 'Goetheanum' at Dornach near Basle (Switzerland), the architecture of which was designed by Steiner himself, remains the centre of the society today. As the charismatic founder of a philosophical community which was entirely focused on his own personality, in the last two decades of his life Steiner gave countless courses and lectures throughout Europe, setting out his programme for spiritual reform of life in the areas of art, education, politics and economics, medicine, agriculture and the Christian religion.

The revolutionary mood in a defeated Germany in the years 1918/19 brought Steiner the opportunity to try out his ideas on education in practice in a new school. On 7 September 1919, he ceremonially opened the first 'Free Waldorf School' as a combined co-educational primary and secondary school for 256 children drawn mainly from the families of workers at the Waldorf-Astoria cigarette factory in Stuttgart (Germany). Steiner's educational reform must be seen against the background of the radical, political utopia of a 'tripartite structure of the social body' proclaimed by him at the time. The spontaneous foundation of new educational establishments (kindergarten schools and colleges), each with its

own autonomous constitution, and the co-operative organization of business ventures, was intended to bring about a strict separation between cultural and economic life on the one hand and the state political system on the other.

Steiner's political programme of a 'free spiritual life' and 'associative economic activity' failed. On the other hand, his school became a success. When he died on 30 March 1925 in Dornach, while still working on his incompleted autobiography, the first 'Waldorf pupils' were about to take their school-leaving examinations.

Goetheanism

The central theme of Steiner's work is the inner perception of the spiritual world and the spiritualization of every area of human activity. Already at the age of 19, Steiner suffered from the demythification of the world brought about by economic progress, technology, natural science and critical philosophy. In the innermost depths of his being, he still perceived the certainty of a spiritual universe which had been current in earlier days. At the outset of his studies, supposedly of natural science, he wrote to a friend:

> Last year my endeavour was to find out whether Schelling's words are true – namely that 'a marvellous hidden power resides in each one of us enabling us to withdraw from the turmoil of the immediate present into our innermost self and to observe the eternal within us in its immutable manifestation'. I believed, and still do believe, that I have certainly discovered that innermost power within myself. Long ago, I had already suspected this to be the case.[3]

In his pre-theosophical writings, Steiner attempts to justify this mystic solitary experience by the theory of cognition, in deliberate opposition to the critical attitude of Kant which led to the limitation of objective experience. Instead, he starts out from the premise that everything necessary to 'explain the world' is accessible to human thought beyond the boundaries of cognition drawn by Kant. Steiner believes thought – manifested in ideas – to be the essence of the universe. A deliberate effort of cognition results in 'constant progression closer to the foundation of the world'. Spiritual being is an emanation of an 'organism of the world'. Human thought is its highest and most perfect manifestation. Eternal ideas are exteriorized through thought. Through 'intellectual perception' man is able to 'experience' ideas directly and therefore become selflessly (re-)united with the foundation of the universe. The cognitive theory of the young Steiner is at one and the same time an ontology and a cosmogony – a regression to the premodern naive movement of universal realism: its aim is to show man his task and position in the universe through a process of self-reflection and to ensure that 'through the thought process . . . man is able to achieve something which he once owed to a belief in revelation, namely the satisfaction of the mind'.[4]

The reintroduction of an objective and idealistic world-view also explains Steiner's interest in the natural research conducted by Goethe. In contrast to

experimental natural science based on causal analysis, Goethe sought the universal unity of nature in his idealistic morphology. In the original phenomena of nature or in the archetypes of the vegetable and animal world, he discovered the sequence of manifestations of a spiritual content to which man is capable of giving deliberate expression in his own microcosm.

This metaphysical 'Goetheanism', with its implicit anthropomorphism, is Steiner's first response to his fundamental romantic question: how can we transcend the intellect, using our own intellect, in order to give expression to the invisible spiritual dimension?

Like the early romantic writers, Steiner's critique of modernity seeks the reconciliation of science, religion and art – a new cultural mythology stemming from the enhancement of the thought process until it becomes the intuitive experience of 'original knowledge'.

His second answer, which takes the form of esoteric theosophy rather than systematic philosophy, resides in 'anthroposophic moral science'. This was also the principal foundation of his educational anthropology.

Anthroposophy

Steiner understands anthroposophy as an extended form of scientific cognition which leads from 'the spiritual in man himself to the spiritual dimension of the universe' – as a kind of rationalized mysticism. To the normal scientific knowledge of the physical world it adds the knowledge of another spiritual world which is in the first instance invisible and 'lies above the senses'. Steiner's cardinal premise is 'the existence behind the visible world of an invisible world which is hidden in the first instance from the senses and from thinking which is bound to those senses; man is capable of penetrating into this hidden world by developing abilities which are dormant in him'.[5]

Steiner's second premise is that through meditative training of one's 'organ of cognition', each individual can acquire the ability to progress to a higher universal plane: 'Man acquires knowledge of the higher worlds when he attains a third mental state, in addition to the states of sleeping and waking'.[6] In this new state, all the impressions of the senses are eliminated, although full consciousness is retained. In the course of his training, the spiritual pupil lays aside the 'paralyzed' conceptual form of everyday thinking and moves on beyond the imaginative and imperative phase to the intuitive stage of 'precise and clear vision'. After the soul has become an 'empty vessel', it experiences a 'fusion with the whole universe, a state of oneness with the world, but without losing its own essence'.[7] The 'organ of cognition' is now able to experience the 'living logic' of the spiritual world and its cosmic order.

The basic laws of this occult spiritual world are the processes of reincarnation and karma, and the correlation between the macrocosm and the microcosm. Steiner uses these laws to arrive at a complete explanation of the development of the universe and the life history of each individual. In the view of Steiner and his

followers, the universe and man originate from a single primeval spiritual foundation. On the path to physical incarnation in seven planetary ages of the world or reincarnation in countless individual lives, the world and man reunite again with the spiritual.

Steiner's cosmogony takes the basic form of the gnostic myth: man must lose his worldliness and slavish dependence on material things so that the soul and the world can rise up to self-redemption and fuse once again with the divine spiritual origins which both bear within them. Modern man lives on the fourth planetary phase of development of the earth which entails an experience of individuation and the respiritualization of the individual. Belief in Jesus Christ can be helpful at this developmental phase. Jesus is not seen by Steiner primarily as a historical figure but rather as a cosmic 'sun being'. As a joint reincarnation of the spirits of Buddha and Zarathustra, he represents their religious wisdom. His sacrificial death caused these 'forces' to flow into the world. Since that event, they have made it easier for man to find the path back into the world of the spirit in his secularized and materialistic civilization.[8]

Thus each individual has a spiritual nucleus which comes down before birth from the spiritual worlds to unite with the physical and mental 'envelope'; at death, it detaches itself from man once more to be reembodied in his next life on earth. In the next reincarnation, and as a consequence of karma, i.e. the interlinking of successive human lives, the soul then experiences – as in the Buddhist doctrine of wisdom – a reward or punishment for the thoughts and acts of the previous life.

In Steiner's anthroposophy, the law of reincarnation leads to a fundamentally changed understanding of death and birth, of historic and social experience. In the new-born infant, the parents encounter a primeval individual being with as yet unknown dispositions and which it is so far unable to express in its new physical incarnation. Education becomes an aid to incarnation, to assist and harmonize the growth of the spiritual being into its physical form which is determined by genetic and moral factors and defined by karma even before the act of birth itself.

Where the concept of 'chance' had hitherto been used to describe the events of life, there exists in reality a network of unsettled debts and relationships brought forward from earlier existences.

The second fundamental law of the spiritual world is the microcosmic analogy: man is the world in microcosm, while the world is man on a vast scale, i.e. the macranthropos. The hierarchy of the natural kingdoms – minerals, plants, animals and human beings – represents an ascending order towards spirituality. As the crowning manifestation of creation, human beings combine all four forms of existence or 'active cosmic forces' within themselves. The doctrine of being also leads on to a theory of evolution (or more precisely emanation): animals, plants and minerals have gradually split off from their union with the human being but remain intimately related to him. The world of minerals is in a sense the solid part of man which has remained fixed in the Saturn stage of universal

development. Plants were created out of the ethereal vegetative part of man which has not progressed beyond the sun stage. Finally, animals are manifestations of the human body which was already endowed with an animal soul in the moon stage; they merely failed to follow the process of incarnation of the spiritual component of man thereafter.[9]

These natural kingdoms 'ejected' from the process of creation of man today stand opposite man, not as alien things but as beings which are intimately related to him. Steiner's homeopathic medicine and art of natural healing, and the natural scientific and ecological teaching dispensed in the Steiner schools, are based on this primeval, pre-modern theory of a cosmos in which all things are one.

In the anthroposophical approach, human nature is presented as a genetic combination of four cosmic forces or elements: the 'physical body' which alone is visible and in which the mechanical laws of the mineral kingdom apply; secondly, the hidden 'ethereal' or living body in which the forces of growth and propagation are active just as they are in the vegetable kingdom; thirdly, the occult 'astral' or sensitive body which bears the animal forces of instincts, desires and passions; and, fourthly, the individual human body which is constantly reincarnated and 'refines and explains the other elements through its own essence'.[10]

These four 'bodies', essences or force-fields hold the most important key to the anthroposophic understanding of man and the world. Many phenomena are attributed by anthroposophy to the action of the 'four' and therefore seemingly explained, e.g. the four elements, the four seasons, the four temperaments, the four stages of knowledge, etc.[11]

In his later writings, Steiner adds a tripartite structure of human nature which is guided by the old spiritual triad of thought, feeling and will.

Looking back for a moment, Steiner's romantic thought process began as a theory of knowledge – drawing heavily on Fichte and Schelling – with the intellectual self-perception of thought. It ended as an occult anthroposophical worldview with a new mythology. The thought process has now been transformed into the heteronomy of a magic mythical world relationship in which the human body becomes a factor in the history of salvation.

The paradox of anthroposophy resides in the fact that something which is in reality a myth of the second order is proclaimed in the name of science. The universal presence of the soul, symbolic numbers, magical analogies, Steiner's 'living logic of images', are an attempt to rehabilitate mythical thinking[12] and ritual life in a civilization ruled by science.

The anthropological foundation of education

Steiner's basic ideas on education were conceived in the period between 1906 and 1909 in a manner which to begin with had naturalistic overtones: 'Out of the essence of the developing individual, ideas on education will grow, as it were, of their own accord.'[13] However, in contrast to the path taken by Dewey and Montessori, who sought to establish their New Education on recent ideas of

empirical child psychology, Steiner based his educational plan entirely on his cosmic spiritualistic anthropology: 'If we wish to detect the essence of the growing individual, we must set out from a consideration of the hidden nature of man as such.'[14]

For the 'Goethean' Steiner, man is a microcosm in which all the forces or ideas that determine the maturing phases of nature are manifested. The development of the child and adolescent is understood as a process of growth and metamorphosis in which the vegetative, animal and intellectual cosmic forces develop in successive phases. In Steiner's scheme of things, the drama of crisis, transformation and rebirth is revealed in the changing manifestations of the child, following the cosmic rhythm of seven-year periods.

At the end of the first seven years, the structure of the child's organism has been completed by the 'ethereal' forces of growth from the tips of the toes to the new teeth. These physical growth forces are now 'born', i.e. they are metamorphosed into forces of learning; the child develops its inner senses and is ready for school.

In the second seven-year period, 'astral' spiritual forces which are still hidden shape the world of drives, passions and feelings. These astral forces are 'liberated' at sexual maturity and transformed into abilities of conceptual thinking and human judgement. They help the hidden 'ego forces' to intellectual and social maturity which is achieved with the birth of the individual personality at the end of the third period of seven years. In this perspective, Steiner therefore understands development in the platonic sense as a strictly successive process of upward movement: first the outer senses are formed by active imitation, then the inner senses by imitative imagination; categories of reason are developed through personal thought, while the ideas of the universe are finally reflected in individual personality.

Steiner as a theosophist sees the educational development of the child as something resembling a process of reincarnation. An eternal spiritual 'ego' moves down into a new body and shapes it – in a seven-year cycle – from the head via the heart to the hands. When the third seven-year period begins, this spiritual ego will have taken over the whole body down to its extremities. The spiritualization of the soul and conceptual world can now begin.

The concepts of development and personality are the two cornerstones of Steiner's educational theory of man. His personality concept also stands in opposition to contemporary psychological research which followed an empirical trend: against the background of his spiritual world-view, he joins forces once again with the old European doctrine of the four temperaments. The unique character of an individual human being must be capable of clear definition by one of the four types of humour defined by Galen: melancholic, phlegmatic, choleric and sanguine. Each of these four temperaments represents a total psychophysical type recognized psychologically by the kinds of stimuli to which the individual is most receptive and physically by the shape of the body. Steiner believed that a particular temperament is shaped by the dominance of one of the four

cosmic forces (physical, ethereal, astral, spiritual) in the process of reincarnation.[15] One important task for education is therefore to harmonize and balance out the biased tendencies of the temperament.

In short, Rudolf Steiner's concept of education has neither an ethical-philosophical foundation (as was the case with Kant and Herbart) nor a socio-cultural dimension (as in Durkheim and Dewey) and also no empirical psychological origin (as in Claparède and Montessori). It is deduced from anthroposophical neomythology and has a metaphoric character. In the light of his interpretation of the microcosm, education takes the form of growth and metamorphosis – the educator is a 'gardener' and a person who moulds others. From a belief in reincarnation stems the image of education as an aid to incarnation and spiritual awakening – the educator becomes a priest and a leader of people's souls. The theory of the four temperaments leads on to the educational task of harmonization – the educator then being understood as a master of the healing art. With these organological metaphors of leaving the child to grow and of healing, and with the religious metaphor of awakening – with these *vérités à faire*, Steiner built the levers which are still being actuated by teachers and educators in his schools and kindergartens today.

The physiognomy of the New Education

For a decade, Steiner's ideas on education remained no more than abstract rhetoric. It was not until the year of the German Revolution in 1919, at the height of the international movement in favour of a New Education, that the self-taught specialist in pedagogics came to prominence as the founder of a new school. Steiner's educational anthropology now absorbed – sometimes contrary to his own ideological concepts – many contemporary ideas based on the reality of education which could not be arrived at merely through an abstract formula.

In the historical and systematic perspective, the practical work of the Rudolf Steiner schools (and kindergartens) shows particularly close links with other trends of the New Education. This holds good in the first place for its structure and organization which have remained practically unchanged to the present day:

1. They are establishments which maintain their own financial and curricular autonomy and are characterized by a child-centred educational tendency. Parents and children work together in the interest of developing the child.
2. The Rudolf Steiner kindergarten has the atmosphere of a living room with a maternal educator. The guiding aims are to develop the senses by imitation and the experience of community life with a rhythmic progression. Factors which contribute to this are the two-hour period set aside each day for free play with natural materials and the particular emphasis placed on artistic creation and a natural religious outlook.
3. The Rudolf Steiner schools are continuous establishments in which the pupils learn together in stable year-groups from the first to the twelfth year of

schooling, without any interruptions or repeat years. Instead of official reports containing marks, the teachers write annual character portraits or learning reports in their own free wording. The syllabus and method of teaching are supposed to be guided in the first instance by the genetic and organic development of the child.

4. The all-round personality of the pupil is supposed to be shaped through placing equal weight on cognitive, artistic-affective and technical-practical activities in both tuition and school life. Practical training – through agricultural activities in the school garden, handicrafts and industry – are intended to develop a practical outlook on life.
5. In the first eight years of school, the teachers see themselves in the first place as educators. They remain in charge of the same class for eight years as the class tutor. The teacher gives a two-hour daily period of 'epoch teaching' which covers one of the traditional main subjects during a four-week cycle. Teaching takes place without standardized textbooks; the most important learning material consists of the 'epoch notebooks' prepared by the pupils themselves. Two modern foreign languages are learned from the first year of schooling in play-conversation and recitation.
6. Rudolf Steiner schools have no headmaster. They administer their own organizational and educational functions at weekly conferences arranged in a collegial manner. They have joined together in the World Union of Free Waldorf Schools (with its headquarters in Stuttgart, Germany). This grouping provides support for the foundation of new Rudolf Steiner schools and, above all, organizes its own teacher-training courses, guided by Steiner's anthropology.

These structural features of the Waldorf School generally cause all observers – be they parents, educational scientists or politicians – quite rightly to regard these schools in the first place as a practical model of the New Education. In terms of the history of these schools – as is already apparent from the year of foundation: 1919 – a close relationship exists with the model of the 'living community school' which developed simultaneously with the experimental schools in Hamburg in the 1920s and, as their synthesis, in Peter Petersen's Jena Plan School in Germany. As autonomous unified co-educational schools motivated by the children themselves, the Steiner and Jena Plan Schools are characterized by a school atmosphere which resembles that of the home, intensive attention to school life, the continuation of the classrooms by gardens, workshops and practical courses, attention to the physical and spiritual well-being of the pupils, an emphasis on musical education and a rhythm of school life marked by festivals and ceremonies. Parents are closely involved in school life. The teachers see themselves primarily as persons who accompany the development of the child. All forms of compromise with bureaucratic selection criteria and state policies are outlawed.

Among the other schools founded on the ideas of the New Education, the specific profile of the Rudolf Steiner schools and kindergartens emerges from the strong emphasis: (a) on educational leadership (class teacher, frontal teaching);

(b) artistic and religious experience (fairy tales, sacred texts, eurhythmics, etc.); and (c) the systematic, to all intents and purposes ritual, organization of education and teaching.

Education as incorporation into the cosmos

In the practical implementation of Steiner's educational scheme nothing is left to chance. All the dimensions of the educational reality – space, time, social community and objective world – are deliberately given a rhythmic structure. As in a ritual event, all forms of educational action are thus incorporated into a cosmic order.

The architecture of Rudolf Steiner schools avoids right angles and is designed to create a miniature world which is an organic reflection of the cosmic structure of the greater world outside. Pupils and teachers enter the school like a place of worship through the ceremonial entrance hall. Here they join together under a single roof as a community which assembles for celebratory events in the great hall in a cyclic rhythm following the four seasons. The ground plan of the school is supposed – like a medieval cathedral – to be related in all its aspects – proportions, acoustics, colouring, themes of the pictures, light effects and orientation – to the task of imparting spiritual education.[16]

In the classrooms, for example, the colour of the walls 'develops' from the first to the eighth school year following the colours of the spectrum, from red via yellow, green and blue to violet. The themes of the pictures in the classrooms are also oriented schematically by the sequence of narrative material used in the Waldorf syllabus, from the fairy tale to modern literature. In the primary section, the order in which pupils are seated in the class is determined by their temperament: phlegmatic and choleric characters sit on the outside with melancholy and sanguine temperaments in the centre. During the teaching process, each group is addressed in turn with 'balancing' impulses.

Like the premises themselves, the temporal dimension of the educational process is also structured rhythmically. The outlining frame is formed by the seven-year periods of development, or 'hebdomads' which are marked by the birth of the new essential forces, e.g. when the adult teeth begin to grow and sexual maturity is reached. As we have already seen, education during each of the seven-year periods is addressed to a different part of the personality of the pupil, moving as it were from the outside inwards. Each seven-year period is dominated by a different method of learning and teaching, from the external activity of imitation via the internal process of emulation to formal and abstract independent thinking. (Unlike his model, Comenius, Steiner also subdivides each hebdomad into three further sections of $2\frac{1}{3}$ year each.)

In the course of the year, the beginning of the four seasons is marked by special celebrations harmonized with the Christian church year for which the pupils are prepared by learning relevant legends. Rhythms corresponding to the month are created by structuring tuition in the main subjects into four-week per-

iods and by the monthly assemblies in which pupils present the results of their learning to the whole school audience. The weekly rhythm is punctuated by the recurrent recitation of the 'dedication'; each child in the lower grades (first to eighth years) must recite to the whole class the dedication contained in his class teacher's report when morning classes begin on the day of the week on which he/she was born.

Painting classes always take place on Saturday and the teacher's meetings on Thursday afternoon and evening. The rhythm of each single day is created in that the subjects oriented more towards theoretical knowledge are taught in succession before the artistic and practical activities. Each hour of teaching is generally structured in such a way that the first rhythmic phase appeals to the will of the child, the central phase to its feelings and a quiet concluding phase to thought.

The social world of the pupil is sharply divided into the ever-present proximity of the educating class-teacher and the specialized teachers who move in a more remote zone. The class-teacher is perceived as an authority who dispenses teaching in all the traditionally important school subjects; this is the 'shaping tuition' in the Herbartian sense of the word. The basic form of this teaching is the moralizing narrative intended to serve as an example and the reproduction by the pupils in paintings or in writing of the pictorial and linguistic world with which they have been familiarized. Based on an intimate 'view of the essence' of the child, the class-teacher prepares the annual educational character report.

At the start of the third hebdomad, a four-year secondary stage begins abruptly with a changeover to the principle of specialized subject teaching – from the primacy of the person and picture to the primacy of the subject and concept.

In the world of specialized subject teaching, we once again encounter an 'ordered cosmos'. This systematic order results from the concept of educational concentration and genetic classification of the themes or contents. Here, Steiner's pedagogics link up with the 'cultural phases' of Herbart and of the Herbartians, while placing this scheme in its own anthropological context. In this 'pedagogical syllabus', the development phases of the child are genetically synchronized with epochs in the history of mankind.

At each age level, specific narrative material is intended to form the general focal point for all the other contents of the school year. This process begins in the first school year with fairy tales, fables and legends and moves on through tales from the Old Testament, local stories of gods and sagas, the mythology and history of the Greeks and Romans, the medieval period and the age of discovery or the Reformation to modern cultural history in the eighth school year. These 'organic' structures will be found in all the subjects taught in Rudolf Steiner schools, including musical and handicrafts training.

The example of teaching the natural sciences clearly shows that a modern ecological education can be founded on this genetic principle. Teaching about nature begins for the 6- to 9-year-old child, who is still living in a state magical-animist union with nature, by appealing to its feelings; through pictorial forms of

narrative, a basic mood of sympathy with the manifestations of nature is to be preserved for as long as possible. From the third school year onwards a physiognomic view of nature is imparted to the child who now thinks in naive-realistic concepts: on the basis of the anthroposophical notion of an all-embracing unity, the animal world is viewed as an extension of man or man as a compact manifestation of the animal kingdom, while the plant world is seen as the soul of the earth made visible and active in man. The sensation of cosmic unity and the observation of the morphological relationship between all living things is supplemented by caring action – from the planting and tending of the school garden through tuition in gardening to practical experience of biological and dynamic agriculture and forestry. Rather than a mere theoretical concept, co-responsibility for nature must become a matter for active participation so that the deep-rooted links between man and nature can be experienced personally by the pupil.

From the seventh school year onwards, starting out from the world of solid matter, a gradual introduction is made to the abstract causal-analytical 'dominant knowledge' of modern physics. Natural scientific training in the Rudolf Steiner school is thus 'all-round' environmental education. It attempts to keep the bond between man and nature alive in pupils for as long as possible and to restore that bond in their later thought process through 'educational knowledge' of nature. With that aim in view, systematic points of contact certainly exist with contemporary natural philosophical contributions to the problem of ecological education.

To sum up, the external form of practical pedagogics in the Rudolf Steiner schools (and kindergartens) shows a manifest fellowship with the initiatives of the New Education which were adopted at the same time. All educational goals and measures of education and tuition are intended solely to promote the 'growth' of the child and adolescent personality. The Steiner school stands out among the New Education schools primarily through its particularly high degree of spatial, temporal, social and conceptual systematization and the ritualization of educational and teaching practice. Unlike the situation which prevails in the largely demythified and plural world of the state schools, education and tuition regain the character of a ritual, i.e. at one and the same time an aesthetic, moral and – last but not least – religious dimension. This metaphysical impulse of Steiner's pedagogics stems directly from the anti-modernist world-view of anthroposophy.

An overwhelming success

One of the most striking trends on the educational scene is the constant growth of international demand for Rudolf Steiner schools and kindergartens. In the past two decades, they have developed from the role of an outsider to become the leader of the international movement for a New Education. Since its inception in 1919, the Steiner school model has made its way from Germany via the United Kingdom, Canada, South Africa and Australia to the great cities of Latin

America and Japan. Today, it is moving back to the reform-oriented states of Eastern Europe. This astonishing history of success is reflected in the statistics given in Table 1.

TABLE 1: The number of Rudolf Steiner schools functioning between 1919 and 1992[17]

	Germany	Europe	Overseas	Total
1919	1	0	0	1
1925	4	3	0	7
1938	8	8	0	16
1955	25	8	8	41
1971	32	42	21	95
1983	80	154	76	350
1992	144	289	149	582

In parallel, the number of Steiner kindergartens and Waldorf teacher-training establishments has also risen. Against the background of this impressive wave of newly founded establishments, particular emphasis must also be placed on the fact that Rudolf Steiner schools are not planned by the school administration or organized by a single person. On the contrary, they grow out of an independent initiative by parents and educators who must sometimes make considerable sacrifices of time and money (monthly school bills paid by the parents and donations of the parents or voluntary reduction of salary by the teachers and educators).

The main reasons given by many parents and teachers for taking part in the foundation and development of Rudolf Steiner schools are these: (a) a rejection of the constant selection of pupils through marks and scales of marking; (b) a criticism of the unilateral emphasis on cognitive, scholastic learning; (c) an aversion for the bureaucratic straightjacket; and (d) the lack of transparency coupled with pluralist anonymity in the major school complexes under state administration. The parents of children attending Rudolf Steiner schools are for the most part drawn from child-oriented, academically trained circles of the upper middle class. This group encounters a new form of community in the Rudolf Steiner establishments and hence that social prop which the traditional institutions of the church, local parish and relatives can no longer give them.

The Rudolf Steiner schools are not only successful in themselves. The educational results of the pupils who have attended them in Germany are also impressive. That is already reflected in the fact that in 1990 almost twice as many pupils of Rudolf Steiner schools (57.5%) attained the qualification necessary for university studies than pupils of the same year attending state schools;[18] and this despite the fact that their work had not been sanctioned for twelve years by marks. An earlier quantitative survey of former German pupils of the Rudolf Steiner schools (born in the year 1940/41) revealed significant differences between this group and a control group in the following areas: higher geographical and social mobility; more pronounced leisure activities in the areas of reading, interest in art, practice of a musical instrument and ability in craftwork; and an interest in further training.[19] A recent qualitative study of the educational bio-

graphies of former pupils of a Rudolf Steiner school with a double academic and professional curriculum (Hibernia School at Herm, Germany) also showed that these pupils were better equipped to face the challenge of life and, in particular, more capable of dealing with technical tasks. They showed greater self-confidence and a wider range of interests, were open to new ideas and were particularly willing to accept social responsibility.[20] The Rudolf Steiner school investigated in that case revealed all the central characteristics of a 'good school': (a) child-oriented and methodically competent teachers; (b) a harmonious school style guaranteed by agreement on the basic pedagogical principles; (c) permanent reflection on the teacher's own action at educational conferences and advanced training courses; and (d) an awareness of continuity through the creation of a school tradition.

This profile is typical of the schools based on the principles of New Education and holds good for many other Rudolf Steiner schools. However, the educational successes of these schools do not result solely from their particular educational slant and from the strong identification of the parents with the school that they have chosen for themselves, but also from the privileged social status of their clientele. Since they are private schools at which attendance is an act of free school choice by the parents, the Rudolf Steiner schools have, even if unintentionally, taken upon themselves the role of perpetuating certain social distinctions. They therefore automatically escape many problems which inevitably arise in the environment of a normal state school open to everyone.

A contradictory balance sheet

Discussion of Rudolf Steiner's pedagogics in educational circles has remained marked until the present by the paradox of practical acceptance and theoretical ignorance. While educational scientists, with few exceptions, failed to take note of Steiner's educational work and that of his successors until the 1980s, leading programme specialists and practitioners of the New Education in Germany noted, on a visit to the first free Waldorf School in Stuttgart in the 1920s, that this creation of Steiner was inspired by the same reforming spirit. The international union of the New Education, founded in 1921 as the World Education Fellowship, only admitted the Rudolf Steiner schools as members of the German language section in 1970, thus putting an end to fifty years of splendid isolation. In the meantime, they have become increasingly visible among the schools of the New Education in Germany as the true alternative to state-run or denominational schools.

In view of this development, intensive study and discussion of Steiner's pedagogics have been in progress in educational circles in Germany for the past ten years or so.[21] However, positions are highly controversial: they range from enthusiastic support to destructive criticism. One side emphasizes the meaningful practice of 'all-round' education designed to meet the needs of the child and overlooks the extra-sensory anthropology of Steiner. The other side directs des-

tructive criticism at this occult neo-mythology of education and warns against the risks of resulting indoctrination (in 'a world-view school'); in the process, it loses an unprejudiced view of the varied practice of the Steiner schools. This position of ideological criticism is further confirmed by the assertion of the anthroposophic educationalists that all the norms and forms of their educational practice are systematically deduced from the 'cosmic' anthropology of the master.

Can any solution be found to this fundamental paradox of Steiner's pedagogics – the creation of a beneficial practice on the foundation of a dubious theory? We assume that the systematic basis for the surprisingly stimulating and effective educational practice of the Steiner establishments must not be sought in the simple 'truths' of anthroposophic doctrine, but rather in the versatility of the related educational views, metaphors and maxims. Steiner's pedagogics holds firmly to the principal perceptions of modern 'common sense' educational theory since Comenius and Pestalozzi: (a) the concept of genetic teaching and learning (in the developmental phases of education once the child's abilities have been formed and in the unfurling of cultural knowledge); (b) the postulate of an 'all-round' educational syllabus (appealing to the head, the heart and the hands); and (c) the principle of joint learning and action (involving the concept of a heterogenous class in each year throughout the school system and also in the organization of a varied school life).

This classical educational dogmatism is an area of consensus between the teachers, educators and parents involved in the practical aspects of education in Steiner establishments. Unlike the more manifest forms of dogmatism of other pedagogical experts of the New Education (Montessori, Neill, Geheeb, etc.), the educationalists in Steiner schools and kindergartens show an unmistakable resolve to adopt an orthodox, personalized and non-sectarian aim of self-improvement or development. It is therefore significant that a number of leading Steinerites in Germany have opened a dialogue – always an agreeable event – with educational scientists in the course of which their pedagogical anthropology and the norms and forms of their education are compared with the concepts and models of the human sciences and with their research standards.[22]

As a consequence of the broader worldwide expansion of Steiner education, even outside the European cultural area, and as a result of the dialogue which has recently been opened with educational scientists, new forms of more depersonalized further development and implementation of the elements of Steiner's educational thinking may be possible. In the last resort, the practice of this system of education with its broad spectrum of artistic and handicraft learning potentials, a caring attitude to children and the many opportunities for conscious participation in community tasks is far too important to be left to the unquestioning adepts of Rudolf Steiner.

Notes

1. Publication of the complete edition of the writings and lectures of Rudolf Steiner began at the Rudolf Steiner Verlag in Dornach (Switzerland) in 1955. At present, 350 volumes are available. A systematic survey will be found in Hella Wiesberger, *Rudolf Steiner: Das literarische und künstlerische Werk. Eine bibliographische Übersicht* [Rudolf Steiner's Literary and Artistic Works. A Bibliographical Overview]. Dornach, 1961.
2. The following works are essential reading: Rudolf Steiner, *Mein Lebensgang. Eine nicht vollendete Autobiographie* [The Story of My Life: An Incomplete Autobiography], ed. by Marie Steiner, 1925. Dornach, 1983. (Bibl. No. 28); Christoph Lindenberg, *Rudolf Steiner. Eine Chronik. 1861-1925* [Rudolf Steiner: His Life Story, 1861–1925], Stuttgart, 1988; and Gerhard Wehr, *Rudolf Steiner. Leben-Erkenntnis-Kulturimpuls* [Rudolf Steiner: Life–Perception–Cultural Stimulus], Munich, 1987.
3. Ruldolf Steiner, *Briefe I – 1881-1891* [Letters, Vol. 1, 1881–91], p. 63, ed. by Edwin Froboese and Werner Teichert, 2nd ed., Dornach, 1955.
4. Rudolf Steiner, *Grundlinien einer Erkenntnistheorie der Goetheschen Weltanschauung, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Schiller* [Main Lines of the Epistemology of Goethe's World-view with Special Regard to Schiller], 1886. 2nd enlarged ed., 1924. Dornach, 1960, p. 17. (Bibl. No. 2)
5. Rudolf Steiner, *Die Geheimwissenschaft im Umriss* [Occult Science: An Outline], 1910. Frankfurt am Main, 1985, p. 41. (Bibl. No. 13)
6. Ibid., p. 299
7. Ibid., p. 393
8. Ibid., p. 291 et seq.
9. Ibid., p. 189
10. Rudolf Steiner, *Die Erziehung des Kindes vom Gesichtspunkte der Geisteswissenschaft* [The Education of the Child from the Perspective of the Scholar], 1907. 9th ed., p. 16, Berlin, 1919.
11. See Heiner Ullrich, *Waldorfpädagogik und okkulte Weltanschauung* [Waldorf Education and the Occult World-view], p. 163, 3rd ed., Weinheim/Munich, 1991.
12. See Ernst Cassirer, *Philosophie der symbolischen Formen. Zweiter Teil: das mythische Denken* [The Philosophy of Symbolic Form. Vol. 2: Mythical Thought], 7th ed., Darmstadt, 1977.
13. Steiner, *Die Erziehung des Kindes* . . ., op. cit. p. 7.
14. Ibid., p. 8.
15. See Rudolf Steiner, *Das Geheimnis der Temperamente* [The Secret of Dispositions], 1908/09, p. 20 et seq, Basle, 1980.
16. See Rex Raab, *Die Waldorfschule baut: 60 Jahre Architektur der Waldorfschule* [The Waldorf School Builds: Sixty Years of Waldorf School Architecture], Stuttgart, 1982.
17. According to statistics published by the Union of Free Waldorf Schools, Stuttgart, Germany, 15 December 1992.
18. See Bundesministerium für Bildung und Wissenschaft, *Grund- und Strukturdaten 1991/92* [Basic Facts and Figures], p. 84, Bonn, 1991.

19. See Stefan Leber, *Die Waldorfschule im gesellschaftlichen Umfeld. Zahlen, Daten und Erläuterungen zu Bildungslebensläufen ehemaliger Waldorfschüler* [The Waldorf School in the Societal Context. Figures, Dates and Explanations concerning the Educational Career of Former Waldorf Pupils], Stuttgart, 1981.
20. See Luzius Gessler, *Bildungserfolg im Spiegel von Bildungsbiographien. Begegnungen mit Schülerinnen und Schülern der Hibernaschule* [Educational Success Reflected in Educational Biographies: Encounters with Female and Male Pupils of the Hibernia School], Frankfurt am Main/Berne/New York/Paris, 1988.
21. See, for example, Otto Hansmann (ed.), *Pro und contra Waldorfpädagogik. Akademische Pädagogik in der Auseinandersetzung mit der Rudolf-Steiner-Pädagogik* [For and Against Waldorf Education. Academic Education compared with Rudolf Steiner's Education], Würzburg, 1987.
22. Heiner Ullrich, 'Kleiner Grenzverkehr: Über eine neue Phase in den Beziehungen zwischen Erziehungswissenschaft und Waldorfpadagogik' ['Light Border Traffic': On a New Phase in the Relations between the Educational Sciences and Waldorf Education], *Pädagogische Rundschau* (Frankfurt/Main), No. 46, 1992, pp. 461-80.

Works by Rudolf Steiner on education

In chronological order

With the exception of a few essays, Rudolf Steiner's statements on education will be found in his lectures on education and schools contained in the complete edition (see Note 1 above, Bibl. No. 293-311). The main individual publications are as follows:

1907. *Die Erziehung des Kindes vom Gesichtspunkte der Geisteswissenschaft* [The Education of Children from the Point of View of the Humanities]. Dornach, 1978.
1919*a*. *Allgemeine Menschenkunde als Grundlage der Pädagogik* [General Anthropology as a Foundation of Education]. Dornach, 1975. (Bibl. No. 293.)
1919*b*. *Erziehungskunst. Methodisch-Didaktisches* [The Art of Teaching: Methodological and Didactical Aspects]. Dornach, 1975. (Bibl. No. 294.)
1919*c*. *Erziehungskunst. Seminarbesprechungen und Lehrplanvorträge* [The Art of Teaching: Seminar Discussion and Lectures on Curricula]. 1919. Dornach, 1985. (Bibl. No. 295.)
1922. *Die Geistig-Seelischen Grundkräfte der Erziehungskunst* [The Basic Forces of the Spirit and the Soul in the Art of Teaching]. Dornach, 1972.

Works about Rudolf Steiner's educational theories

Bohnsack, F.; Kranich, E.-M. (eds.). *Erziehungswissenschaft und Waldorfpädagogik. Der Beginn eines notwendigen Dialogs* [Educational Science and Waldorf Education: Starting a Necessary Dialogue]. Weinheim/Basel, 1990.

Leber, S. (ed.). *Die Pädagogik der Waldorfschule und ihre Grundlagen* [The Education of the Waldorf School and its Foundations]. Darmstadt, 1983.

Prange, K. *Erziehung zur Anthroposophie. Darstellung und Kritik der Waldorfpädagogik* [Education for Anthroposophy: Outline and Review of Waldorf Education]. Bad Heilbrunn, 1985.

Schneider, P. *Einführung in die Waldorfpädagogik* [An Introduction to Waldorf Education]. 2nd ed. Stuttgart, 1985.

Schneider, W. *Das Menschenbild der Waldorfpädagogik* [The Human Image in Waldorf Education]. 2nd ed. Freiburg/Basel/Wien, 1992

Ullrich, H. *Waldorfpädagogik und okkulte Weltanschauung* [Waldorf Education and the Occult World-view]. 3rd ed. Weinheim/Munich, 1991.

——. 'Wissenschaft als rationalisierte Mystik. Eine problemgeschichtliche Untersuchung der Grundlagen der Anthroposophie' [Science as Rationalized Mysticism: A Historical Problem-oriented Inquiry into the Foundation of Anthroposophy]. *Neue Sammlung* (Stuttgart), No. 28, 1988, pp. 168-94.

BOGDAN SUCHODOLSKI

(1903–92)

Irena Wojnar

The man and his times

In meditating on the humanities in their broadest sense, on culture as an essentially human reality, created by man and shaping him at the same time, I came to know my first preoccupations of an educational order. They expressed themselves, however, in a general idea of man shaped by his own works, by his own cultural activity. The idea of culture understood as an ideal, a humanist ideal, always seemed to me essential for educational reflections as well. I considered humanism as a series of truths and norms that were situated beyond daily life, its interests and its contradictions, that is, beyond its norms (1980*b*).

These words of Bogdan Suchodolski, written towards the end of his life, are an excellent expression of his attitude as an educationist and philosopher fervently interested in thinking about man, culture and human development. He understood education as a permanent process, embracing the life of the thinking, feeling and creative individual.

Born at the beginning of the century, he marked with his creative presence the successive stages of the era that is now coming to a close. The course of his intellectual life, his activities, his successes and his failures are characteristic not only of the individual destiny of a scholar endowed with many talents, expressing unusually broad interests, one of those (and they are becoming more and more rare) not undeserving of the name of humanist, in the traditional sense of the word. They also enable us to better understand the dramatic history of a generation of the Polish intelligentsia caught up in a whole set of events, hopes and tentative efforts, assigning itself actual or imaginary missions, a generation of conflicts and crossroads, but one gifted above all with a social and patriotic sensibility. With the passing of Professor Suchodolski, a whole era is coming to an end, that of our twentieth century. The professor was in fact thinking of writing a book with a title along those lines.

He belonged, then, to a generation born and still brought up in a partitioned Poland, which had the good fortune to enjoy the recovery of freedom in

1918 after more than a hundred years of domination, participated in the construction of the second Republic between the two wars, fought against the German occupation and, at the end of the war, undertook the work of reconstruction, inspired by new values.

Bogdan Suchodolski was born in Sosnowiec, in the south of Poland, into a well-off family, the only son of a doctor passionately involved in social activity on behalf of the workers in the coal mines. It was the family setting that shaped the sensibility of the young boy, nurtured his exceptional intelligence and encouraged his patriotic and committed attitude. Destined by his family to become an architect, he was unable to give up his passion for literature and philosophy acquired at the secondary school where – a picturesque detail – he was a fellow student of the famous opera singer Jan Kiepura. Suchodolski continued his studies at the universities of Warsaw and Cracow, and it was at Warsaw that he received his doctorate in 1925. Shortly afterwards, thanks to a scholarship, he went abroad, first for a long stay in Berlin, where he worked with Alfred Vierkandt and Eduard Spranger and where he received an intellectual inspiration that was important for his later thinking. Suchodolski always remained basically faithful to the principles of an education marked by culture. The effect of these studies showed itself in two of his books, one containing an analysis of German secondary education,[1] the other a study of the transformations of the human sciences.[2] We may mention here two complementary aspects of his activity: the choice of a practical approach to teaching, and his passion for philosophical ideas.

Further studies in Switzerland and France confirmed the curiosity and sensitivity of the young scholar, his liking for travel, and his attachment to the culture and charms of old Europe, to which he would remain faithful. Returning to Poland, Suchodolski taught in secondary schools in Warsaw and participated in projects for the reform of education prepared by a ministerial team – too radical, however, to succeed in practice. His new thesis enabled him to become a university lecturer. His research then turned towards culture as a factor in the development of personality (the personality of the nation as well as of the individual) and also to the contribution of culture to social life and education. Suchodolski published some remarkable studies on Polish culture,[3] and a book on cultural and educational policy;[4] he started a magazine, *Culture and Education*, in which he defined education as 'the defence of culture'; and he participated in the publication of an *Encyclopedia of Education.* Also at this time, he published his important work on the social presence of culture – that is, on culture which penetrates all aspects of life, is close to the style of living, broadly democratic and expresses itself equally well through the values created and in the activities of man. This sequence of studies continued. In 1938, Suchodolski was invited to take up the chair of educational science at the University of Lvov, but the Second World War abruptly broke off that career.

Returning to Warsaw, he taught in the underground university, which brought together young people engaged in the struggle against the occupation,

but was an expression of the loftiest intellectual needs. This atmosphere, unimaginable today – where the proximity of death, heroism, and intellectual fascination, under the influence of the writings of Emmanuel Mounier, André Malraux, Joseph Conrad, inspired philosophical texts on the humanistic dimensions of the future – motivated Suchodolski to write a book (published clandestinely) with the significant title of the *Where Do We Come From? Where Are We Going?*.

The Gestapo hunted for Suchodolski in vain. When the war ended, he immediately set to work in the ruins of the capital, which was without water, electricity and public transport. He became head of a secondary school and professor at the University of Warsaw, where he directed the laboratory and then occupied the chair of general educational science. In 1958, he was appointed director of the Institute of Educational Sciences. The professor's lectures, in the extremely difficult material conditions of the post-war period, attracted crowds of unregistered students anxious to discover French existentialism, American humanism, impatiently imagining the future of education in the world.

In fact, his university teaching always reflected the results of his current research and was expressed in his successive publications.

Contact with the world abroad having been renewed, Bogdan Suchodolski participated as a member of the Polish delegation at the founding meeting of UNESCO in London in 1945. His relations with this organization were to last for the rest of his life.

Suchodolski engaged in a variety of activities in the intellectual life of Poland. Unfortunately, the political freedoms which had seemed acceptable were gradually limited. Stalinist terror was imposed on life at all levels. The professor, who embodied the spirit of freedom and openness, was accused of being a 'bourgeois savant' and became the object of more and more violent criticism. Faithful to his wish to build and defend humanistic values in all circumstances, Suchodolski had to make two important decisions at this time. Thus, keenly interested in the so-called 'classical' writers, he studied the complete works of Marx and prepared a volume on *The Foundations of the Materialist Theory of Education.*[5] This book did not appear until 1957, after the famous 'thaw', and furthermore was never accepted by orthodox Marxists because in it the professor emphasized above all the humanistic ideas of the young Marx.

Suchodolski's second decision concerned his interest in an area of research still little known at that time, that of the history of science. An escape from the real, a flight from a hostile reality, enabled him not only to carry out some personal studies, notably of classical authors, but above all to initiate in Poland a new current of research into the history of science (i.e. science taken in the broad and interdisciplinary sense, admitting, alongside the exact sciences, the social and humanistic disciplines as well). Suchodolski organized, within the Polish Academy of Sciences, a specialized laboratory, later transformed into the Institute of the History of Science, Technology and Education. Suchodolski presided over its council until the end of his life. Starting in 1970, there appeared under his direction the successive volumes of the *History of Science in Poland*.

Suchodolski engaged in numerous editorial activities. In 1962, he was named president of the editorial committee of the thirteen-volume *Great Universal Encyclopedia*, considered the greatest publishing venture in post-war Poland. He was responsible for many series of publications, notably Polish and world educational classics, and he wrote prefaces for modern works which he thus made known to Polish readers.[6]

A particularly important setting for Suchodolski's activity was the Polish Academy of Sciences, of which he became a corresponding member in 1952 and a regular member in 1964. He had numerous responsibilities within the governing bodies of this institution, presiding over committees (the committee of educational science and the committee of the history of science) and organizing many activities of the 'Poland in the year 2000' committee. It is fitting to recall the personal contribution of Suchodolski to the activities of scientific associations and to the movement for the spread and democratization of the sciences. In fact, at a time when totalitarian state control was dominant, being a leader of intellectual life through associations was something rare, not found in any of the socialist countries. This movement could justly be considered as independent of the state, as a fourth sector of the development of the sciences in Poland, along with the system of higher education, the institutes of applied research, and the institutes of the Academy.

The professor, being a gifted popularizer, addressed himself, outside his university courses, to a broader public, particularly schoolteachers, by means of radio and television. Entire generations of teachers were educated in this way, called to research and to personal reflection. This was how Suchodolski conceived his educational mission.

He participated at the same time in successive activities in favour of school reform in Poland, contributing to the working out of plans and strategies, particularly concerning the content of general education. At each stage of his life, the professor helped to establish a new educational order by offering his famous method of 'chipping off a corner', i.e. proceeding by small modifications in order to arrive at more substantial changes. To be engaged in practical life by all available means, even in hostile circumstances, seemed to him the token of an authentic personal culture.

Bogdan Suchodolski was well known abroad, and particularly in Italy, Spain and Portugal, thanks to the translations of his writings into various languages. He taught in many European countries, e.g. at the Ecole pratique des hautes études in Paris, in German universities, in Austria and in Italy. There is hardly any need to recall his contribution to the activities of international organizations, starting with UNESCO, where he served as a well-known expert. He also served in the European Association of Comparative Education (Vice-President, 1964-71; honorary member), the World Association for Educational Research (founding member; President, 1969-73), the International Academy of the History of Sciences (Vice-President, 1968-71), the World Futures Studies Federation (Vice-President, 1977-86) and the European Cultural Society. He

collaborated with the Club of Rome, with the International Association of Educators for World Peace, and in 1990 was invited to the International Parliament for Safety and Peace. He attended innumerable congresses, conferences and symposiums organized by the above-mentioned organizations, an activity that continued to the end of his life. In 1991, he took part, as guest of honour, in the fortieth anniversary ceremony for the UNESCO Institute of Education in Hamburg, with which he had worked for many years.

From the end of the 1960s, however, Suchodolski's situation in his own country had become more and more precarious. The political crisis and anti-Semitism, in addition to violent attacks from intellectual milieux, particularly in the universities, had ended in the expulsion of many professors. This was what happened to Suchodolski, who was accused of 'bourgeois liberalism' and forced to limit his activity to the Academy of Sciences. His researches went on, however, his books continued to appear, and the honorary doctorates conferred on him testified to his continuing prestige. In 1978, he received a doctorate from the University of Silesia and in 1983, from the University of Padua in Italy. A new doctorate was awarded him that same year by the University of Warsaw. In 1985, he received a doctorate from the Higher School of Education in Opole, and in 1988 from the Lomonosov University in Moscow and the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences in Berlin.

Suchodolski's intellectual career reached a difficult point in the 1980s. In 1983, he was appointed President of the National Council of Culture, set up by the President of the Council of Ministers, and thus became a member of Parliament from 1985 to 1989. The National Council of Culture was arbitrarily abolished in 1990, and its activity has still not had the benefit of a fair and timely analysis. In one of his texts, a rather personal one moreover, entitled 'My Farewell to the National Council of Culture', Professor Suchodolski recalled the decree that asked the Council to affirm the role of culture in the spiritual life of the nation and to encourage social initiatives in favour of cultural participation. The professor then explained how tempted he had been by this chance to embody in social life the ideas which until then had lived only in his mind. He thus took up again the threads of a whole lifetime's concerns[7] by proposing the autonomy of culture in relation to politics, which he considered as a power exerted by man on man. This was to plead for culture as an authentic dimension of human life and to confer on it its humanistic meaning and richness. The professor's lofty intentions, which had always kept him apart from political struggles, the manifest activities of the council, above all in the provinces, and the concern for cultural leadership worthy of that name, came to nothing in the face of the radical transformations that marked the country. This was a painful experience for Suchodolski, more difficult to bear than the failures of the preceding years. His commitment to culture was not subjected to criticism from hostile quarters, but suffered from the lack of understanding of those who, on the contrary, ought to have appreciated the perseverance with which he had pursued his noble dream.

The feeling of failure was so sharp in him that it hastened his death. He departed forever from this world which had once again displayed the brutal discord reigning between the grandeur of man and the pettiness of men.

The number of Bogdan Suchodolski's publications is immense, and numerous were the problems to which he devoted his research, studies and activities. One constant in him is the problem of man, his universe and his education. Man is perceived first of all as a creator, his universe as the totality of the results of his creative activity, and his education as a process of the enrichment and blossoming of a being throughout his life and through the interplay of his potentialities realized in the world. It is training in the elevated and strong sense of the word, though always connected with the concern for transforming the world.

Willingly going back to the ideas of Comenius and his wish to 'set right the things of man', evoking the metaphors of the labyrinth of the world and the paradise of the heart, Suchodolski held that:

> No one can believe in the much too easy and optimistic myth that one can set the world right in a lasting way without touching the evil lurking in the human heart, just as it would be difficult to console oneself by hoping that a reconstruction of the heart, even if it could be done by miraculous means, would make insignificant and superfluous the reconstruction of the world (1972*b*, p. 120).

Education and culture

The approach to education proposed by Suchodolski and outlined in the years between the wars, came from his conviction that all education is rooted in culture – national and universal – culture considered as the 'kingdom of man' (*regnum homini*), that is to say, the reality thanks to which man becomes human. It is thus inseparable from the values in accordance with which man carries out his activities in the natural universe, in his relations with others, and in regard to himself. Culture, according to Suchodolski, covers a greater area than artistic success. He thus never disregarded scientific and technological culture, social and political culture, and the culture of work and social interaction, nor did he forget moral culture or the culture of behaviour. Moreover, culture seemed to him a dimension proper to the life of a nation as well as to that of an individual. Culture, for Suchodolski, was more a vocation or a summons than a completed heritage.

This conviction was never absent from his thinking, and he did not fail to notice everything that sets the reality of facts in opposition to the reality of values and ideas. It was the latter reality, however, and it alone, that he considered the real one, because it raises man up to the level of his potential.

Education, Suchodolski said, is a process allowing the individual to develop by accomplishing tasks that are more and more difficult and more and more complex, and by reaching to his most hidden, most latent potential.

The general idea of culture was presented by Suchodolski in his book written in the 1930s, the title of which is difficult to translate;[8] it nevertheless relates to the presence of culture at the heart of society and in the existence of each person, or rather of a social reverberation of culture, considered as a creative principle and connecting with the idea that 'all are called to work, to effort and to creativity'. It was also at this time that Suchodolski put forward the idea, to which he would remain faithful throughout his life, that culture is not limited to the spiritual, artistic or intellectual aspects of man, but must unite two principles: 'knowing' and 'being'; that it has nothing in common with social élitism; that it is certainly created through the intermediary of values and ideas, but that it is also forged in the trials of the material conditions of existence. He thus suggested that culture must penetrate all dimensions of life, satisfy the vital needs of man and constitute a direct form of his experience.

Giving back culture to life constitutes, for Bogdan Suchodolski, the essential task of education. It is not so much a question of the transmission of knowledge about the cultural heritage, as traditional cultural teaching would have it, but above all of the inspiration that animates active participation in cultural, social, and working life – in short, a sort of cultural stimulus but one that dates to our own time.

The path to culture, as one can read in Suchodolski, lies in the deepening of what is intense in personal life, in the affirmation, by one's own self, of the activities carried out and the ideas proclaimed, and in the contact of the individual with the universe of values. The fulfilment of culture is the style that personal life acquires, the attitude of a man towards others and towards himself; it is the quality of work done, sensitivity to truth and to beauty, the capacity for living with gravity. It was precisely his concern for a life marked by gravity that inclined Suchodolski to clarify the threats hanging over it. Sensitive to what was happening to culture, at present caught up in political struggles and degraded by the 'industry' of culture and leisure, Suchodolski preferred to stress the relations between culture and work that were close to creative activity, as opposed to burdensome toil. In this regard, he spoke of the difference in point of view that sets economists, for whom work has no other objective than the multiplying of things and the provision of services, against educators, who find in work a factor of human enrichment.

Bogdan Suchodolski also stressed the cultural importance of scientific activities carried out by the whole personality and not by the mind alone. Through his general idea of culture, he defined intellectual culture, the process of the spread and development of the sciences. Criticizing the approach of popularization, which makes a distinction between professionals and amateurs, he observed that the sciences were enriched as a result of the creative participation of all. According to him, science in the fullest sense must not be a force external to man, but his own internal force, an aspect of his individual and social consciousness.[9]

The overall idea of culture defended unflaggingly by Suchodolski leads to a new view of the relations between the arts, the sciences and technology, all products of the creative spirit of man. These relations are appropriate both for the way in which the structure of culture is conceived and for defining the content of the most complete human education.[10] Suchodolski stressed many times that the arts, the sciences and technology belong to the individual, expressing and shaping a person; they should thus constitute the basis of education. One must turn to them every time there is a question of the overall education of the personality, as opposed to a traditional aesthetic, intellectual or technical education which only touches separately on its particular aspects. The thinking, feeling, creative man is an indivisible being, a motive force of culture and a product of it. In other words, culture is a process consonant with human fulfilment; at each instant it stands for the fulfilment of the whole of humanity. The proper meaning of culture is value, participation and responsibility.

The fundamental relation of education to culture, essential for the educational thinking of Suchodolski, is of exceptional importance at the present time. It is no chance but, on the contrary, a matter of necessity that the recent proposals put forward on this subject by UNESCO lay particular stress on the cultural dimension of education and on its mission with regard to the cultural aspects of development – not only the development of culture itself, which goes without saying, but also economic and social development, conditioned as is admitted more and more readily by the contribution of the 'human factor'.

I should like to quote here the words spoken by the Director-General of UNESCO, Mr Federico Mayor, at the forty-third session of the International Conference on Education (ICE, Geneva, 1992):

> all human societies have confirmed the structural link between education and culture. With the word *Bildung*, Germany offers us the most striking example of the association of these two ideas . . . *Bildung* denotes both formative culture and education that gives access to culture.[11]

Suchodolski, faithful to the inspiration of the German teaching of culture in the 1930s, added his own original contribution to it. This relates particularly to the inclusive notion of culture, going beyond the artistic heritage, and to a cultural education that is close to a general education of the whole personality. These ideas of Suchodolski's have certainly inspired some of UNESCO's work in this area. We should mention in this connection not only the famous report *Learning to Be*, but above all *The Contents of Education* (1987), in which a broad and general formulation of culture is accepted, together with the importance of an inclusive education, in which aesthetic as well as scientific and technological education have a place.

Mention must be made, finally, of the Recommendation of the conference referred to above, concerning the contribution of education to cultural development, based on the principles of the programme of the World Decade for Cultural Development. Bogdan Suchodolski was always convinced that culture

constituted both the content and the effect of education and that if education was the vehicle of culture, culture in turn constituted the inspiration, the meaning and the method of educational activity. Suchodolski's creative intuitions, which came into being so long ago now, have proved themselves not only durable but in harmony with present-day activities, carried out in a global perspective and on a world scale, for making the future more receptive to the values of humanism and for giving substance to the humanities. The professor's dream of establishing a culture 'among men' is becoming a reality.

Education for the future

Suchodolski's best known book is quite certainly *Education for the Future*.[12] This title, however, covers a broader meaning in his thinking.

Commentators on his work, notably in Italy,[13] have emphasized its temporal dimension by stressing, as L. Borghi does in particular, the relation between present and future and between today's life and the construction of the future, so that there is thus a perpetual movement of transformation, both of society and of man. When all is said and done, Suchodolski was more sensitive to the movement itself than to its finality; he pleaded for openness, trial and error and the possibility at any time of making a different choice. What counted were human values.

Education for the Future, first published in 1947, sets forth the mature and personal educational theory of Bogdan Suchodolski. The book has appeared in three, quite different, Polish editions and numerous translations. Its title expresses the optimism which was widespread at that time and which buoyed up the opportunities offered to education by the end of the Second World War, the victory over Fascism and the obvious progress of science and technology. A period began which, it was believed, would be an era not only of new civilization but also of the complete fulfilment of man. The problems of education were then equated to the question of how to fit the human being into that accelerating civilization and how to shape a person in an appropriate way for what was to come. In other words, an education was called for which could adapt to the rapid transformations of civilization while at the same time embracing the mutations that were becoming apparent in our country.

In preparing the successive editions of his book, Suchodolski rightly noted that the new civilization could not be expressed only in terms of the expansion of science and technology, but chiefly depended on the development of education and culture, stimulated by the personal efforts of people and acting as a counterweight to the conformism that adaptation makes necessary. The emphasis in Suchodolski's educational preoccupations clearly underwent a shift from a fascination for modern civilization to a concern for the quality of the individual and the mutual relations between a people and the world to whose construction they contribute. It was on this subject that Suchodolski was inspired by the ideas of Marx, and notably by the dialectic of conformism and Utopia or, if one prefers,

adaptation and creativity, two fundamental notions in education. The professor held that education could not be limited to the transmission of an eternal human wisdom, expressed in an enduring and immutable ideal, nor to a simple adaptation to the real conditions of existence. In going beyond the principle of adaptation or of reproduction, education must therefore go along with the new forces and the new trends of history in the making. It plays a part in shaping the future by asserting itself in the present, fully accepting the present moment thus created. This is an education in the service of human civilization, a help given to people for their own personal fulfilment on a scale consonant with the true potential of development.

Education was thus understood as a driving force going well beyond the traditional objective of the adaptation of younger generations to existing reality and beckoning towards creative activities for a better future; it would associate itself with the democratic transformations of the world and be inspired by humanistic values.

The idea of education proposed by Suchodolski was sometimes considered unrealistic. It was considered to be not only remote from reality but difficult to translate into practical terms. Suchodolski himself often addressed this question, stressing the necessity of thinking in a different, open manner, of participating in the creation of a desirable future, as futurology puts it, but not determined with too much precision. Suchodolski valued Utopia as a force capable of inspiring the new forms of the future and able to stimulate present-day activities.

An idea of education that takes in the dimensions of the future and the present-day, of the ideal and of creativity, makes one think of another antinomy, though one only in appearance. This is the teaching of ideals as opposed to the teaching of life, which corresponds to the contrast between the philosophy of essence and the philosophy of existence.[14] Always sensitive to the possibility of overcoming conflicts, Suchodolski proposed bringing an existential dimension to the teaching of ideals, thus transforming human existence so as to allow it to bring forth an ever more complete essence. But such a solution necessarily implies the transformation of society, with the suppression of the domination of man by man. Where domination exists, the professor thought, the idea of human essence must be either a means of reinforcing that domination, or the possibility of expressing an idealistic hope for the freedom of human existence. It must therefore choose between the cult of force and constraint and a solitary escape towards the unknown.

The education proposed by Suchodolski, as well as his own activity, were consciously opposed to any desire for escape. The professor's projects and visions, some more feasible than others, were his great contribution to practical educational experiment. He suggested that there should be two groups of educational activity: one preparing young people to participate in social, economic and cultural life, and possibly ending in a measure of success; the other above all shaping the individual and seeing to his fulfilment and happiness. Two different educational strategies should therefore be worked out. The first, aiming at

pragmatic success, is better known and relatively more obvious. If Bogdan Suchodolski suggested the necessity of studying the personal 'strategy of life',[15] it was in going back to the motto of his youth: 'Love life, be valiant', the title of a book published in 1927. A little paradoxically, however, Suchodolski never defined man as he 'ought to be', the model man. He was persuaded that man as the 'object' of education does not exist. What does exist is man as the subject of a process of formation which is, basically, nothing but self-formation.

Meditating on the education that must be carried out 'despite everything', in spite of obstacles and misunderstandings, going back to certain ideas in his *Education for the Future*, Suchodolski suggested that any education at present finds itself faced with two sorts of tasks. The first concerns the preparation of men for the protection and reconstruction of modern civilization and for the ability to guide its subsequent development; the second consists in the help to be given to people so that they can think up and bring into being the values of life. He thus stressed that education is 'the affair of man in the world'. It must therefore include varied fields and not only those which correspond exactly to the autonomous scientific disciplines or to specific human faculties. These fields consist of taking cognizance of reality, of nature, of society and of culture; the activity of the world expressed in labour, creativity and social participation; and, finally, the development of the personality and the acquisition of a competence allowing one to guide one's own life, thanks to the rediscovery of the links between oneself and the substance of education. Human education so conceived could be expressed as: 'Comprehend the world, govern yourself'.

Preoccupied with education carried out 'here and now', keenly aware that it was now at a crossroads, Suchodolski nevertheless devoted great attention to classical authors, enthusiast that he was for the ideas of Comenius, Pestalozzi and Dewey. It was through these studies that he proposed his formula of the 'three educational approaches',[16] an entirely personal classification. Emphasizing the relations between education as a descriptive science and education as a normative science, because it is as much a taking cognizance of reality as it is an art of education, he analysed successively the education which is devoted to the forming of the personality, based on philosophical tradition; the education which is preparation for life, corresponding to the progress of civilization; and the education which is a general system of instruction, consequent on the economic and social aspects of the crisis in the contemporary world. In this regard, we should point out that Suchodolski published a study on *Education and the National Economy*.

These studies, as well as his knowledge of education itself, enabled him to make clear his own conception of education. It was linked as much to the teaching of ideals as to the teaching of life, without forgetting the 'three educational approaches'.

Just as the history of culture was for Suchodolski the history of the fulfilment of man, so the science of education would in turn be a theory of this fulfilment – in short, a science concerned with man. A study with approximately that

title was presented by Suchodolski in Italy in 1985,[17] emphasizing the relation between the science of education and the problem of the nature and vocation of man. Suchodolski, sensitive as always to reality as it existed and to the reality taking shape, stressed that the essence of the science of education is never expressed by its relations with the empirical knowledge of people as they exist, but demands a vigilance with regard to their perpetual becoming. People are not as they are, Suchodolski stresses, but as they become. What therefore distinguishes education is inspiration, stimulation and the awakening of aspirations, motivations and curiosity with regard to the world. Thus, according to Suchodolski, education is a permanent process for the enrichment and self-formation of man. This idea is set forth with greatest precision in his last work: *Permanent Education in Depth* (1993), published in Italy in 1992 under the title: *L'educaziona permanente in profondità.*

Education considered as a science bearing upon man touches the very depths of the educational process. It also touches on the two roots of the human being, revealed in the conflict that sets activity in opposition to truth. According to the professor, practical activity decides the destiny of man, but a people become authentically human only thanks to the fulfilment of their vocation, which is the multiplication of values. There are thus beings who set out to dominate others and act effectively, and there are others who seek to create and spread values. Bogdan Suchodolski was persuaded that a humanist must be critical in relation to that dogmatism and fanaticism that stem from the conviction of possessing the truth and from the need to confirm it. For him, the truth of a humanist is equivalent to a quest for solidarity among men, the basis of an enriching dialogue, the foundation of tolerance. This sort of truth does not increase profits, nor does it guarantee the domination of man by man; it serves neither the pragmatism of activity nor the various skills. Its role is the quite different one of leading to wisdom.

Tragic humanism

It was through his consideration of culture and of education, seen in the light of the *hic et nunc*, that Bogdan Suchodolski brought the philosophical problems of man's vocation to the fore.

It is a thread that runs through the whole of his work, but it is also the subject of several specific studies. In the 1960s, he published two books[18] on his view of man, books filled with historical reflections on the periods of the Renaissance and the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Studies about the nature of man are logically accompanied by studies of his various modes of existence; a view of the 'veritable' man is illustrated by pictures of the lives of 'real' men as found in the art books of each period. In his works dealing with his view of man, Suchodolski not only draws on philosophical sources, but also on literary and pictorial works, true to his conviction that art, as the immediate expres-

sion in form of the vital experiences of man, is both a particular means of thought and a source of knowledge of what man is.

The idea of man that one forms in the historical perspective can thus be likened, not to a panorama of ideas, but to the history of man's consciousness of himself. And Suchodolski asks himself: 'If man can be defined neither from the point of view of God, nor from the point of view of nature, but from the point of view of his own universe, how then can one accept such a definition if man's universe proves to be inhuman?'. Or again: 'Can one defend, and how can one confirm, the grandeur of man if human beings are so petty? And why are men so petty, when man is so great?'.

This question never ceased to exercise Suchodolski, who sought answers to it not only in history but also by undertaking systematic studies founded on the present situation. In his work, *Who is Man?*,[19] he wonders about the image of man drawn by particular sciences such as biology, psychology and sociology, in order to clarify the field covered by human philosophy. It must, he said, emphasize his creative participation in the construction of the 'human world', his inimitable uniqueness and, above all, his capacity for surmounting matter, space and time, thanks to the durable nature of his achievements in the arts, sciences and technology, and also thanks to his labour. Suchodolski referred to various definitions of man, suggesting that he must be seen in a general sense as well as in a particular sense as an existence capable of living in a thousand ways, of expressing his identity and of involving himself in the dramas and contradictions of existence.

Interest in particular expressions of human life considered in a temporal perspective can be seen in a typology of styles of life put forward by Suchodolski. He was persuaded that the whole of human life is marked by two sorts of activity, with people either being subjected to necessities over which they have no control, or else constructing their own autonomous world. In other words, people can either accept reality as it is given to them, or they can surpass it. They either take advantage of this reality or are opposed to it. What seems essential, however, is people's attitude with regard to time since they can live an existential experience limited to the present moment, or an experience oriented towards the past as towards a place of escape. The individual's experience can also be a leap towards the future. From another point of view, life can be fixed on arrested time, that is, on durable and immutable values, or it can be expressed through active participation in the fulfilment of duties, or it can be realized through revolt and protest against the established order. Bogdan Suchodolski opted personally for a solitary life but in a community of values, a life shared with others. Every aspect of the style of life analysed seemed worthy and valuable to him.

The essence of man was thus defined by Suchodolski in a personal manner, above all through his fundamental contradictions and the ceaseless dynamic interplay characteristic of them. These contradictions bear as much on the definition of the place men occupy in the universe as on the various ways of comprehending the world or the way of arriving at the truth; they touch also on the

poles of heart and mind, of solitary and communal, of altruism and hedonism, of the desire to 'be' and the wish to 'have'. An analysis of these conflicts does not oblige one to choose or to make value judgements; it aims only at deepening our knowledge of the complexity of the living being, and the unique experience of his/her existence in the world, in society, in relation to one's own identity.

A sensitive and attentive observation of the events taking place in our world today, particularly the increase in violence, aggressiveness and hatred, the absurd rise in the number of conflicts and the obvious triumphs of evil, the destiny of Europe, always so dear to Suchodolski, which has now 'betrayed' his lofty ideal, all inclined him to a pessimistic view of the future.

He saw humanism, a notion essential to his thinking, stricken ever more deeply by tragedy, and this state of affairs was effectively expressed by the titles of the writings from his final years. Thus, a book published in 1990 is called *Education – Despite Everything*, this 'everything' relating to the chaos of the world, the dangerous domination of evil in our immediate reality, and also to the failures and disillusionments of education that has lost the traditional support given it by civilization. For the first time, Suchodolski observed, the condition of educational science is beginning to be shaken, because for the first time the science and practice of education have lost their fixed point of support. Civilization, which for centuries has constituted a basis and a spur for educational thought and practice, is revealing its instability. It has not only ceased to serve as a basis, but is attracting criticism about its meaning and its future. Suchodolski thus proposed introducing into our thinking on education the categories of courage and hope, which would make it possible to sustain the sense of educational activity and even the sense of obligation to act for man and in favour of values.

Here we must recall the test devised by Suchodolski on 'The Teaching of Tragic Humanism',[20] in which he points out that education has always been connected with the tragic view of life and death, as is best illustrated by the destinies of two famous figures in the educational drama: Socrates and Jesus Christ. One category of tragedy, stated the professor, is a category of a genuinely human life, a category of hope confirmed paradoxically by a failure which nevertheless proves to be a victory over destiny.

Always sensitive to the play of contradictions, Suchodolski sought to overcome them, to find grand syntheses, to look beyond. His work, rich and multiform, summons us to reflection and to disquiet. A solitary walker in the universe of ideas, sensitive to the dramas of the human condition, he revealed the hopes and disillusionments of all those who desired to transform the world by education. At the same time, he invited us to penetrate to the heart of the experiences and tensions of the human being, caught up in his world, torn between 'destiny' and 'decisions', between restrictions and possibilities. He emphasized the deep link that connects man to the world, the durable nature of man's aspiration to greatness, both that which can be measured by the duration of his works as well as that which can come from his power over others.

A human life conceived as a great peregrination marked by constant responsibility – this could be the kind of greatness within reach of every one of us. That is exactly the message of Professor Suchodolski.

Notes

1. *Reforma szkolnictwa sredniego w Niewczech* [The Reform of Secondary Education in Germany], 1927*b*.
2. *Przebudowa podstaw nauk humanistycznych* [The Transformation of the Bases of the Human Sciences], 1928.
3. *Idealy kultury a prady spoleczne* [The Ideals of Culture and the Currents of Social Life], anthology, 1993. *Kultura i osobowosc* [Culture and Personality], anthology, 1935.
4. *Polityka kulturalno-oświatowa w Polsce współczesnej* [Cultural and Educational Policy in Contemporary Poland], 1937*b*.
5. *U podstaw materialistycznej teorii wychowania* [The Foundations of a Materialist Theory of Education], 1957. German translation: *Grundlagen der marxistischen Erziehungslehre*, Berlin, 1961; 's-Gravenhage, 1971; Cologne, 1972; Spanish: *Teoria marxista de la educación*, Mexico City, 1966; Italian: *Fondamenti di Pedagogia marxista*, Florence, 1967; Portuguese: *Teoria marxista de educação*, Lisbon, 1976; see also: Giustino Broccolini, *Bogdan Suchodolski e il neomarxismo educativo* [Bogdan Suchodolski and Neo-Marxist Education], Rome, 1967.
6. Publication of collective works by Polish authors, and by classical Polish and foreign authors such as Comenius, Condorcet, Pestalozzi, Dewey, Freud and Jung, and by contemporary foreign authors such as E. Morin, G. Picht, A. Peccei and I. Illich.
7. It was at this time that he published *Dzieje kultury polskiej* [A History of Polish Culture], 1980, 1986. *Polska i Polacy* [Poland and the Poles: Anthology], 1981, 1983; *Polska – Naród i Sztuka* [Poland – Nation and the Arts], with M. Suchodolska; translated into German, English, French and Russian.
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SUN YAT-SEN

(1866–1925)

Zhang Lanxin

Dr Sun Yat-sen was one of the great patriots and democratic revolutionaries of China's modern history. He led the Chinese people during the overthrow of the feudal rulers of the Qing Dynasty. By introducing Western scientific knowledge into China and developing new ideas of educational reform, he trained a new breed of highly qualified educators. Even today, his thinking has practical significance for the promotion of educational reform in China.

A glorious revolutionary life

Sun Yat-sen, whose given name was Sun Wen, was born in Cuiheng village, in Xiangshan county (presently Zhongshan county) of Guangdong province. He was born into a poor peasant family and was unable to attend the private village school until his tenth year. He studied hard and excelled at intellectual activity; he was soon capable of reciting such ancient Chinese writings as 'Sanzijing' and 'Qianzıwen' fluently. Though he made great efforts to study such Chinese classics as the Four Books (namely, 'The Great Learning', 'The Doctrine of the Mean', 'The Analects of Confucius', and 'Mencius') as well as the Five Classics ('The Book of Songs', 'The Book of History', 'The Book of Yi', 'The Book of Rites', and 'The Spring and Autumn Annals'), he considered it nonsensical to study them since they were incomprehensible to him. Living in the countryside and seeing with his own eyes the miserable life of the poor peasants, he felt that 'all of China's children ought to have shoes and rice'[1] and that they should no longer need to suffer. After school, he often listened to tales about Hong Xiujuan and Yang Xiuging told by veterans who took part in the Taiping Rebellion. In this way his young heart was sown with revolutionary seeds.

By 1878, he had left his hometown for Honolulu, Guangzhou and Hong Kong to study at missionary schools run by the Christian Association. In 1892, he graduated first in his class from the College of Medecine for Chinese in Hong Kong. During his fourteen years of learning, he had received a systematic educa-

tion in Western democracy and science. He particularly enjoyed reading biographies of George Washington, Abraham Lincoln and others. He had 'great esteem and reverence for European and American nations and for the leaders of democratic revolutions, and he wanted to model himself after them'.[2] His conception of democratic revolution against colonialism and for national independence was germinating. As he said in his own words:

> When I was young, I studied in foreign lands. I became acquainted with the languages and literatures, politics and customs, astronomy, geography, physics and chemistry of the West; and I paid particular attention to the way of making our country prosperous and building up its military power, to ways of educating the people and transforming their customs; furthermore, I acquainted myself with the causes of vicissitudes in political situations and with the style of good-neighbourly relations.[3]

In 1884, the Sino-French War broke out. Although the Chinese troops won some battles, the corrupt Qing regime betrayed them and signed a humiliating treaty with the French. Deeply disturbed by the event, Sun Yat-sen proclaimed that 'the current situation of China is so dangerous that we ought to rise up for our own salvation'. Determined to overthrow the Qing regime, he became an active participant in the revolutionary struggle. He made use of schools as a vehicle for propaganda and his medical skill 'as a medium of contact with society'.[4]

In 1894, he set up the Xingzhong Society, a secret revolutionary organization in Honolulu. In 1905, with the ambition of overthrowing the Qing Dynasty by armed force, he organized the Tongming Society in an alliance with other anti-Qing revolutionary groups and was elected their president. He defined their revolutionary manifesto as 'to drive out [the foreigner], to restore China, to found a Republic, and to equalize land ownership',[5] and put forward the 'Three Principles of the People'. From then on, he multiplied his revolutionary activities at home and abroad, uniting with overseas Chinese secret societies and 'new troops'. He launched a series of unsuccessful armed uprisings. After ten failures, he finally succeeded in the Wuchang Uprising of 11 October 1911 – the Qing Dynasty was overthrown at last.

In December 1911 Sun Yat-sen was elected the Interim Great President of the Republic of China. Later, he was forced to resign from this office when revolutionaries made a compromise with Yuan Shikai, a feudal warlord. He subsequently began campaigning for the modernization of China, and devoted himself to drawing up plans for industrialization. However, some imperialist and feudalist forces remained active and his efforts were frustrated.

In 1924, with the participation of the Chinese Communists, he reorganized the Koumintang and defined the 'Three Main Policies', namely, to unite with Russia, to unite the Communist Party, and to assist workers and peasants. From then on, the Chinese Revolution was on the right track, but just as significant progress was being made, Sun Yat-sen died on 12 March 1925 from an illness attributable to overwork. He was 59 years old.

His works were later collected into eleven volumes – *The Complete Works of Sun Yat-sen* – which represented a glorious tribute to his lifetime struggle for the cause of China's national emancipation.

Sun Yat-sen dedicated forty years of his life to revolutionary struggle, during which time he never overlooked the role of education. In the beginning he made use of schools as bases for propagating revolutionary theories, and set up institutions to train cadres for the revolution. Although he never wrote a systematic monograph on education, his educational thoughts can be traced in his works and speeches, such as the 'Three Principles of the People' and the 'Plan for National Reconstruction'. Many of his works touch upon different aspects of education. His proposals constitute a new approach to education, a mixture of Chinese and Western culture, still relevant during the present modernization of education in China.

During the Revolution of 1911, Sun Yat-sen regarded education as an important means of arousing and organizing the people. His principal educational activities included: (a) establishing revolutionary newspapers and periodicals at home and abroad; (b) using them as vehicles for propagating his revolutionary views and making people aware of the opposition movement to feudalism; (c) establishing a new style of school to train revolutionaries; (d) paying particular attention to the education of students studying abroad, increasing their patriotic awareness and bringing them together for active participation in revolutionary movements; (e) directing revolutionaries to protest and demonstrate against feudal autocratic education; and (f) reforming educational thinking in order to promote the revolution.

Democratic and scientific education

Sun Yat-sen believed that the main task of social education was to expose what he considered to be the aggressive nature of 'imperialism', and to bring to light all crimes committed by the feudal rulers of the Qing Dynasty.

In his view, these rulers were corrupt and degenerate, and were betraying the country by capitulating to the demands of foreigners while continuing to exploit their own people. His intention was to build up anti-imperialist, anti-feudal political feelings in the people, to inspire patriotic enthusiasm in the masses and then incite them to rise up against imperialism and feudalism. He proclaimed that 'the salvation of our country lies in awakening the people', and 'the method to achieve rapid success in our revolution is 90 per cent propaganda and 10 per cent armed force'.[6]

Such propaganda aimed at 'changing the ideas of the masses in order to make them completely convinced' and inculcating the revolutionary 'Three Principles of the People in their heart of hearts', so that people were psychologically prepared to 'prefer the republic'.[7] In order to realize his democratic ideal of setting up a democratic republic, Sun Yat-sen traveled widely making speeches at home and abroad. He wrote articles expounding revolutionary concepts and

calling upon the people 'to save themselves from untold miseries and to support the country so that it stands firmly on its own feet'. He appealed to the masses to begin overthrowing the oppressive rulers of the Qing Dynasty, and he established numerous propaganda organs at home and abroad – newspapers and periodicals such as *Min Bao, Su Bao, Nation and Democracy*. According to the statistics reproduced by Feng Zhiyou in *Revolutionary Newspapers at Home and Abroad Before the Founding of the People's Republic*, no less than 100 revolutionary newspapers and periodicals were being published at this time.[8] *Revolutionary Army*, written by the young revolutionary Zou Rong, and *Alarm Bell* by Chen Tianhua each sold tens of thousands of copies. They exposed in detail the crimes committed by the dominant Qing Dynasty, thus sowing the seeds of discontent and promoting the revolution.

While engaged in propaganda, Sun Yat-sen organized several revolutionary groups, among them the Xingzhong, Tongming, Rizhi, Wenxue and the Gongjin societies. Through these organizations he promoted revolutionary activities in schools, political meetings and military units, propagating his 'Three Principles of the People' and calling upon the masses to overthrow the Qing Dynasty rulers in order to found a democratic republic.

By means of newspapers, periodicals and revolutionary organizations, Sun Yat-sen vigorously criticized feudal education and its morality. Feudal education, he said, was an instrument of the feudal ruling class; its only purpose was to train officials to repress and exploit the people:

> The literati consider success in the imperial examinations as an honour, for this success opens the way to higher offices. After gaining office they accept bribes. Since official salaries are insufficient to maintain their standard of living, and they must pay tribute to the higher authorities every year, where will their money come from if they do not take bribes? And as the government backs them up, who, except an idiot, would want to be free from corruption? As their pockets fill up with money, they can make use of part of it to become higher-ranking officials. They live for nothing but this. Some of these thieving officials may later on become the highest authorities who will make every decision in social, political and judicial matters.[9]

All crimes in feudal society could be attributed to these practices, such as the selling of official posts and titles, bribery, bending the law, and curbing people's liberty of thought and expression.

Sun Yat-sen had long opposed the feudal system of education, and he considered that much of what students learned was useless:

> The students learn nothing more than the Four Books and the Five Classics and the notes and commentary accompanying them. They are obliged to revise them and distorted explanations are presented if their content does not conform to decrees, doctrines and established ideas. This blinds the students. This is the way the students are taught, to say nothing of the common people. That is why the people cautiously observe the actual law and decrees, regardless of benevolence or tyranny, virtuousness or wickedness in politics.[10]

Feudal education restricted the ability of the people to think; they only knew how to obey the will of the rulers. This system of education made China impoverished, backward and dependent. Sun Yat-sen observed:

> We, the Chinese people, suffered despotism for several thousand years and then came under the rule of foreign nationalities for more than 260 years. We have long lost our moral integrity. Today, in order to regain it, we must begin with education.[11]

Thus, he strongly advocated cancelling the imperial examination system. The constitution of the Xingzhong Society, his first revolutionary organization, stipulated its goal as 'running newspaper offices in order to change the social climate, and establishing schools in order to train qualified persons'.[12] The Decree of Education, issued after the Revolution of 1911, provided first of all for less emphasis on Chinese classics in school curricula: the aim of education would be 'to cultivate moral integrity for the Republic'.[13] The feudal education of the Qing Dynasty, which considered 'being loyal to the monarch' and 'showing respect for Confucius' as its key points, was abandoned. He put forward his guiding principles of education, which were based on military education, civil morality, a world-view and aesthetic perception; these principles would train an individual in an all-round and harmonious way, providing the country with 'the consciousness of liberty, equality and brotherhood'.[14] The feudal education which aimed at 'obtaining power and money' would be changed into a democratic, egalitarian and independent education aimed at teaching 'perfect moral integrity'. This new style of education terminated more than 2,000 years of feudal education. It defined the direction of people's education in China, bringing the Chinese education system to a new stage of development, and greatly influenced the upbringing of the new generation.

Revolutionary concepts of education

At the beginning of this century, the bourgeois reformists headed by Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao had transformed themselves into royalists defending the rulers of the Qing Dynasty. They tried to oppose any attempts at revolution and the formation of a constitutional monarchy. Sun Yat-sen addressed their counter-revolutionary stance in his speeches, accusing them of 'submitting themselves to the rule of the Qing Dynasty'.[15] Yan Fu, a reformist, wrote in *On the Education by Letter Delivered to the Owner of the Waijiao Bao*: 'The disaster of our people lies in ignorance. Even if the revolution takes place, the inferior morals and poor intelligence of the Chinese people' would not lead to any significant change. 'The stratagem for the present', he concludes, 'consists of starting with education in order to make a progressive transformation.'

Sun Yat-sen vigorously refuted such reformist ideas. On the contrary, he considered that, since social problems were abundant and the people had insufficient means of livelihood, the only correct way to save the nation from subjugation and to ensure its survival consisted of developing the intelligence of the

people and making education universal in order to train a new style of person, at the same time making people aware of the impending overthrow of the Qing Dynasty. He therefore opposed the reformist view of putting education before revolution. He believed that only by first overthrowing the rule of the Qing Dynasty could the educational transformation be carried out. Sun Yat-sen stated his view that education is undoubtedly 'an important way of changing China, but it cannot be seen as the first step. The first step consists of . . . nothing but the Revolution'.[16]

Uniting students abroad

As the Qing Dynasty declined, the feudal system of education became unpopular among Chinese students studying abroad and receiving a modern scientific education. Given the increasingly serious circumstances of national crisis in China, it was necessary to train a new style of qualified individual for the purposes of the revolution. Allying himself with secret societies, Sun Yat-sen launched several uprisings which failed, and came to the conclusion that victory did not depend on secret societies. Rather, he needed qualified revolutionaries.

Realizing that 'the actual trends and revolutionary means are not sufficient to unite qualified persons',[17] Sun Yat-sen traveled abroad searching for revolutionaries. In Japan he met with many Chinese students and introduced them to his 'Three Principles of the People' and insurrectionist concepts in order to arouse their revolutionary consciousness. On 13 October 1905 he was welcomed in Tokyo by a lively gathering held by Chinese students studying in Japan and attended by more than 1,300 people. He was given a warm welcome as 'China's hero' who had devoted himself to the revolution, and as 'a representative of the 400 million Chinese people'.[18] The Tongming Society was organized soon after in Tokyo; more than 400 students studying in Japan joined. In setting up the Tongming Society, Sun Yat-sen believed that the revolutionary cause would overcome all resistance: 'The confidence and determination to achieve victory was strengthened'.[19] Full of confidence, he said to a friend:

> Recently, we have formed a wonderful party among students which will carry out the Revolution without violence. Three or four hundred students are ready to sacrifice themselves for the Revolution. They are men of great learning, iron will and absolute boldness, being well versed in both literature and martial arts. They are from seventeen provinces. Actually, each of them is engaged in his own business; some of them have left for inland provinces of our country to make contact with comrades and to assess the situation on the spot. . . . In future, the majority of students studying in Japan will join us. China is indeed full of promise with these men of learning.[20]

In 1902 Sun Yat-sen prepared a commemoration for the 242nd anniversary of the subjugation of China in order to arouse young people's consciousness against the Qing Dynasty and strengthen their resolve to overthrow it. But the commemoration ceremony could not be held due to the presence of the Japanese

police following the intervention of the ambassador of the Qing Court to Japan. This incurred the young people's wrath and resulted in the founding of the Youth Association, a patriotic organization with the aim of overthrowing the Qing Dynasty.

In 1903, tsarist Russia invaded north-eastern China. Students studying in Japan formed an anti-Russian 'army' of volunteers. Their motto was to 'resist Russia in name and carry out revolution in reality'. Later on, this 'army' developed into the 'Society of Military Education', whose purpose was to cultivate military skills and nationalism. In 1903, Sun Yat-sen established a military school for training revolutionary cadres in Tokyo; its objective was to interpret revolutionary ideas for the Chinese students studying in Japan and to give them a military training. Some students, who had returned to the mainland from Japan, set up revolutionary schools such as the Datong Teacher Training School directed by Qiu Jin, and the Shanghai Patriotic School and Shanghai Girls' Patriotic School. Their task was to train revolutionary cadres and promote revolutionary activities. These intellectuals became a mainstay of the subsequent revolutionary uprisings directed by Sun Yat-sen.

After the Revolution of 1911, and in order to fight against feudal warlords, Sun Yat-sen established the Huangpu Military Academy to train political and military leaders who would promote the Chinese Revolution. This was the obvious implementation of Sun Yat-sen's idea that 'education itself is not the aim; we must make it complementary to the task of training democratic revolutionary cadres'.[21] Chinese Communists were also carrying out Sun Yat-sen's approach to education, paying greater attention to educating and training young people to become a key force in the revolution.

Equality of education

In the feudal system, only the children of the rich could enter school and receive instruction. Education meant nothing to the poor, since the great mass of peasants did not enjoy the right of education. Sun Yat-sen pointed out: 'It is extremely unjust that whoever is born into a rich family can receive education, and whoever is born into a poor family cannot, though they live in the same society'.[22] He advocated equality:

> Everyone in the society can enter public schools, no matter who they are. . . . They will learn different subjects according to their own intelligence and wisdom. The less intelligent ones who cannot benefit from higher education will be trained in agriculture, industry or commerce so that they can make a living independently.[23]

Thus, the right of education would not be monopolized by the rich.

Women too were oppressed in the feudal society of China. They were controlled by the feudal ethical code and deprived of the right of education. Ignorance was commonplace among women.

After the Revolution of 1911, Sun Yat-sen emphasized that, of China's population of 400 million, 'half of them are women, but their education is always ignored, so that few of them are enlightened. Thus, it is a most important event to introduce girls' education'.[24] He pointed out: 'All the people agree with the concept of natural rights, equality, public interests and parity of women with men'.[25] He considered that in order to popularize education, the first task consisted of developing standard education. Women made most suitable teachers, but only by receiving education could they become teachers, for the teachers' level of learning had a great impact on students. Only with universal education 'will the parity of women and men become reality'.[26] Therefore, after the Revolution of 1911, Sun Yat-sen gave firm support to setting up teacher-training or vocational schools for girls. In the 'Order to the Ministry of Education for Establishing a Girls' Silkworm School', he stated that 'after founding the Republic of China, all kinds of education ought to be encouraged. This should be enough to make people civilized and enlightened'.[27]

Education and development

Sun Yat-sen considered knowledge to be 'the foundation of national development. We will absorb knowledge from Eastern and Western civilizations'.[28] After the Revolution of 1911, he actively advocated education and developed industries, considering that 'the old regime has been destroyed and the construction has begun. Those who knew how to destroy before, must now learn how to create today. Knowledge makes the world evolve'.[29]

He hoped that educational circles would reform teaching and adopt advanced science and technology from the West, 'to work for the people's felicity and the nation's prosperity and power'.[30]

After long years of despotism and suppression, Chinese society was conservative and inward-looking. After the Qing Court was overthrown by the revolution, Sun Yat-sen felt that the door ought to be opened. History had proven that 'a nation, whether strong or weak, which practices the open-door policy will certainly make great advances'. He saw that Japan had learned from Western Europe and had rapidly become rich.

Thus, he advocated teaching modern scientific knowledge to children. After the Revolution of 1911, the provisional government issued numerous decrees designed to popularize education. Sun Yat-sen considered that the universalization of education constituted the cardinal measure for making the country powerful. 'I will begin by opening a primary school in each township and then a middle school will be established. Afterwards, a university will be set up'.[31] By following the examples of the United Kingdom and the United States of America, he aimed at making the country strong and prosperous. But China's underdeveloped industry hampered development; he therefore implemented a policy of openness, seeking to attract qualified people from abroad to help China develop.

In order to develop China, we may borrow money from foreign countries if we lack it. We may invite qualified persons from foreign countries if we want them. We may make use of foreign methods, if ours are not good enough. Foreign countries have taken more than 200 years to create the present material civilization. It will be very convenient if we make a full use of them, will it not?[32]

Sun Yat-sen felt that if the whole nation, from the leadership to the people, made a joint effort, it would only take China a few years to catch up with foreign countries. Only with a developed economy could China possess sufficient financial capacity to develop education. The development of education could, in turn, develop the economy. Only with a developed economy and education could China become powerful and prosperous and improve its position. The present Chinese policy of openness is just the continuation of the work of Sun Yat-sen and his comrades.

Various aspects

The revolutionary, democratic and scientific educational thought of Sun Yat-sen has epoch-making significance in the history of China's modern education. Before the Revolution of 1911, a feudal attitude to education was dominant and cultivated the concept of allegiance to the monarch. Although some reforms were made, they were rather timid. Many new-style schools were set up, but the basic aim of education did not change and progress was slow. After the revolution, Sun Yat-sen promulgated several orders, decrees and regulations on educational reform and there were rapid developments in the early days of the republic.

During the revolutionary era, Sun Yat-sen devoted much attention to social education. As we have seen, he published several newspapers and periodicals, and established various social and educational institutions which propagated revolutionary ideals. They played a positive and important role in heightening the patriotic awareness of the people, in enlightening the masses, achieving a common understanding, and training and preparing revolutionary cadres. Thus, after the revolution, the Department of Social Education was established at the Ministry of Education, and actively propagated revolutionary ideas. It made a contribution to popularizing the 'Three Principles of the People' and cultivating the 'moral integrity' of the Republic.

The following proposal was put forward in the Kuomintang Declaration:

Education is the foundation for constructing the country; it is the way to development. Thus, we must start to promote education at once. Education in political science and law to increase the people's knowledge; education in industry and commerce to allow development of industry and commerce; middle school education which follows the primary school and is the basis of the university; primary teacher-training school, which constitutes the first step in the popularizing of education, aims at training teachers; and the education of girls which will develop their intellect and their rights. All of these are contained within the Party's plan for developing education.[33]

It was evident that Sun Yat-sen wanted to develop various kinds of education, including elementary, standard and vocational education, university education, etc. The aim was instructing all people, enhancing the quality of the nation, cultivating the personality and allowing China to stand alongside other nations.

Sun Yat-sen favoured not only sending students to study abroad, but also bringing in qualified people from other countries. He said: 'knowledge makes the world evolve. Knowledge will bring us the civilization of countries of the East and West'.[34] China's material civilization had lagged behind; it was imperative that China should learn advanced scientific and technical knowledge from developed countries. He maintained: 'Our learning from foreign countries aims at overtaking them but not at following them'.[35] The aim of learning was 'using knowledge to make the masses happy and the nation powerful and prosperous . . . but not grabbing profit and power for oneself'.[36] He hoped that the students would realize they had an important responsibility. They would be political workers and public servants with an approach vastly different from the students of despotic times. Only by doing their best in their studies could they become a firm foundation for the country.[37] He exhorted young people not to cast aside China's traditional virtues while they were learning material civilization from foreign countries.

> Generally speaking, those who are deeply involved in the new culture are prone to reject the traditional virtues. They consider that traditional virtues can be abandoned when the new culture is acquired. They do not understand that our traditional virtues must be preserved if they are excellent, and that only some bad habits and customs will be discarded.[38]

He maintained that the concepts of loyalty, filial piety, benevolence, affection, faith and serenity embodied in traditional virtues would be interpreted in a new sense and carried forward. They reflected the national spirit. Only by developing them could China recover her position. The present policy of openness and educational reform in China can draw inspiration from Sun Yat-sen's views.

Sun Yat-sen's educational thought was derived from personal practice. His criticism of the feudal education methods and his propositions for new education not only constitute a summary of the experiences of the revolution, but also represent a scientific world outlook and methodology. He considered that human evolution was a cognitive process based on experience. 'Heightening human awareness and increasing knowledge' constitute a process of experience. Knowledge is not innate; it is derived rather from experience and learning. Those who wish to obtain knowledge ought to receive education. The argument that facility in performance originates from hard application in learning corresponds to the natural law of how things develop. Knowledge comes from practice, so that human advance constitutes a process from ignorance to knowledge.

Sun Yat-sen felt that 'genuine knowledge surely comes from science. The knowledge which does not come from science is fabricated'.[39] Popularizing education is the way to enhance the people's level of scientific knowledge and the overall quality of the nation.

Sun Yat-sen believed that, in order to gain genuine knowledge and make the nation prosperous and powerful, an inquisitive and venturesome spirit is required; imitating others at every step is not the way to overtake current trends. His educational thought continues to enlighten us on the ceaseless pursuit of truth.

Sun Yat-sen was a forerunner of China's democratic revolution. His educational thought is a reflection of the needs of the times; it represents the historic progressive force and demands of the Chinese people. He not only criticized the harm resulting from feudal education, but also selected worthy cultural traditions inherited by the Chinese nation. In addition to assimilating the advanced educational elements current in Western countries, he encouraged the adoption of the educational experiments carried out during the process of China's democratic revolution. This led to a new concept of educational reform suitable for China which is still relevant today.

The Chinese people deeply and reverentially cherish the memory of Sun Yat-sen, the great patriot who 'gave his all till his heart stopped beating'. Since the founding of the New China, a huge portrait of him stands in Tianman Square during every important festival and is an object of pilgrimage by the masses. At each anniversary of his birthday and death, leaders of parties and government, from the national to the local level, attend commemorative activities held at his former residences, at his mausoleum and at his Memorial Hall. His works are constantly studied and re-published. Special institutions have been founded for the purpose of promoting studies on Sun Yat-sen. The Chinese Communist Party and people spare no effort to carry out Sun Yat-sen's behests in the modernization of China. A great, powerful and modernized socialist country will soon stand in the East and Sun Yat-sen will live forever in the hearts of the Chinese people.

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RABINDRANATH TAGORE

(1861–1941)

Narmadeshwar Jha

Rabindranath Tagore's reputation as a poet has so eclipsed his contributions to other fields that these have seldom received the attention and appreciation they deserve.

The purpose of this profile is to give a more comprehensive account of Tagore's educational views and experiments and to indicate the influences which made him devote the latter half of his life to education in India in general and to the rural education problem in particular.

Family background and early influences

Rabindranath Tagore was born on 7 May 1861. At some time towards the end of the seventeenth century, his forefathers had migrated from their native lands to Govindpur, one of the three villages which later came to constitute Calcutta. In the course of time, the family came to acquire property and considerable business interests through the pursuit of commercial and banking activities. They had particularly benefited from the growing power of the British East India Company. Rabindranath's grandfather, Dwarkanath Tagore, lived lavishly and broke the Hindu religious ban of those times by travelling to Europe, just like his contemporary, Rammohan Roy, the nineteenth century social and religious reformer.

Roy started a religious reform movement in 1828 which came to be known as the Brahma Samaj Movement. Rabindranath's grandfather supported Roy in his attempts at reforming Hindu society. Dwarkanath's son, Devendranath Tagore, also became a staunch supporter of the Brahma Samaj Movement. In order to encourage its spread, in 1863 he established a meditation centre and guest house on some land about 100 miles from Calcutta at a place called 'Santiniketan', the Abode of Peace.

Although deeply steeped in Hindu and Islamic traditions, Tagore's family contributed large sums of money for the introduction of Western education,

including colleges for the study of science and medicine. This peculiar situation explains the combination of tradition and experiment that came to characterize Rabindranath Tagore's attitude to life.

Rabindranath's father was one of the leading figures of the newly awakened phase of Bengali society. He had been educated at one stage in Rammohan Roy's Anglo-Hindu school and had been greatly influenced by Roy's character, ideals and religious devotion. Devendranath Tagore was well versed in European philosophy and, though deeply religious, did not accept all aspects of Hinduism. He was to have a profound influence on his son's mental and practical attitudes.

Rabindranath was the fourteenth child of his parents. His brothers and sisters were poets, musicians, playwrights and novelists and the Tagore home was thus filled with musical, literary and dramatic pursuits. The family was also involved with diverse activities at the national level.

Important changes were taking place in Bengal at the time Rabindranath was born. Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar had been attempting to reform the position of women in society. Schools using English as the language of teaching were being established, alongside the traditional Sanskrit schools. Vidyasagar had established Bengali-medium schools at different places in Bengal with little or limited government support. He had also established a centre to train teachers for these schools. Rabindranath attended this school and, as he says himself, owed his love of Bengali language and literature to it. He was also sent to a number of English-speaking schools, but he did not like their teaching style and had no wish to be taught in a foreign language.

He gradually withdrew from formal schooling when he was around 14 years old. The remainder of his education was carried out at home through his own personal efforts and with the help of tutors in various subjects. He also had lessons from professionals in wrestling, music and drawing. The manner of his early schooling was to leave a deep impression on him.[1]

When Rabindranath was 12, his father took him to Santiniketan, the meditation centre established in 1863. During their brief stay there, Devendranath gave his son lessons in Sanskrit, astronomy and the scriptures which formed the basis of his reformed religion. After these lessons were over, Rabindranath was free to roam among the fields and forests. This routine continued when father and son journeyed on and stayed at Dalhousie in the Himalayan foothills. After lessons in Sanskrit, English literature and religion, the would-be poet explored the mountains and forests. Life in close proximity to nature was unknown to him in the urban surroundings of Calcutta.

The close and affectionate contact between teacher and pupil which he felt when his father taught him was also completely absent in Calcutta. It was this childhood experience of the willing pupil enthusiastically following lessons given by his father in the manner of a noble teacher among agreeable surroundings which guided Rabindranath in establishing a school at Santiniketan in 1901.

In 1878, when he was 17, he was sent to London by his father to qualify for the Indian Civil Service or as a lawyer. He took his matriculation examina-

tion and then joined University College, London. He came to like his lessons in English literature, and became exposed to British social life and Western music, both of which he enjoyed. But he returned home suddenly after some eighteen months without completing his education. However, he did gain the impression that human nature was perhaps the same everywhere.

Back in India he continued with his personal education and his creative writing and music. His *Sandhya Sangeet* [Evening Songs], a volume of Bengali verse, came out in 1882. It was at about this time that he had a kind of mystical experience which led him to appreciate the unity of all that exists and himself as an integral part of it. In the same year, he wrote his famous poem *Nirjharer Swapna Bhanga* [The Awakening of the Fountain]. He became aware of his unusual talent as a poet. Between 1884 and 1890 various volumes of his poems appeared, together with a profuse output of prose articles, criticism, plays and novels.

Tagore married when he was 23. At this stage, beyond his literary pursuits, he had begun sharing his father's religious responsibilities. In 1890 he made a second trip to the United Kingdom, but came back after a month to look after the family estates.

This responsibility opened up new vistas of inspiration for him. Whereas his previous literary work had been primarily based on imagination, he now came to acquire a direct and intimate experience of the wretched life led by the poor Bengali peasants. This new experience led to the composition of *Galpaguccha* [A Bunch of Stories] (1900), and the many letters he wrote to his niece, subsequently published as *Chhinnapatra* [Torn Letters] and *Chhinnapatravali* [A Collection of Torn Letters], considered to be landmarks in the writing of Bengali prose and in describing the countryside of Bengal.

Tagore was overwhelmed by the economic, social and political misery in which the peasants lived. He gave a description of them at a later date:

> Our so-called responsible classes live in comfort because the common man has not yet understood his situation. That is why the landlord beats him. The money-lender holds him in his clutches; the foreman abuses him; the policeman fleeces him; the priest exploits him; and the magistrate picks his pocket.[2]

These conditions, he thought, cannot be changed by appealing to the religious sentiments of the landlord, policeman or money-lender. In human society, necessity is a greater force than charity. The first requirement therefore is that people should discover the bond which holds them together as a society. If there is one path likely to achieve this, it is education. Tagore realized from his own experience of the farmers' attitudes and their social behaviour that strength can be generated only in a self-reliant village society developing its own locus of power and its own momentum of growth. He turned again and again in various contexts to this theme of local self-reliance, local initiatives, local leadership and local self-government centring around co-operative ways of life. This could be the basis for reorganizing India's fragmented rural society, and could serve as an

instrument of welfare. Tagore realized that education and village councils or *panchayats* were the only available instruments of economic and social change, and that the villagers should obtain various forms of expert help from outside to accomplish this change. As he says: 'Poverty springs from disunity and wealth from co-operation. From all points of view this is the fundamental truth of human civilization.'[3]

As a young landlord managing his family's rural estates, Tagore came to realize the possibilities of introducing education and co-operation to transform rural life. Thus he began to turn his thoughts towards the problems of education. He spoke publicly on 'The Vicissitudes of Education'[4] in which he made a strong plea for the use of the mother-tongue. His first experiments in teaching also date from this period. He started his own school in Seliadah, the headquarters of his estate, to which he sent his own children to be taught by teachers in various subjects, including an Englishman to teach them the English language. He also started organizing co-operatives, schools and hospitals in the villages of his estates and tried to introduce improved farming methods. All these efforts for rural reconstruction went on while he pursued his creative writing. Tagore called this the period of his *Sadhana* – preparation, reflection, austerity and self-education for an active social life. He lived either at Seliadah or on his houseboat on the river Padma, visiting villages, talking to people and listening to their problems. Tagore's later educational experiments arose from this experience.

In 1901 he left Seliadah where he had undertaken these experiments and moved to Santiniketan where, with his father's consent, he started a boarding school. The Brahamacharyashram (or Ashram) School was inaugurated on 22 December 1901 with only a few pupils, his son being one of them, and with an equal number of teachers. It was to be run on the pattern of teachers and pupils living together amidst natural surroundings and willingly accepting an austere standard of living, often working with their own hands. Of the five teachers, three were Christians – two of whom were Catholics and the third was his son's English teacher from Seliadah. The orthodox Hindus were offended by this situation and he did not get any assistance from them. No fees were accepted from students, all expenses being borne by Tagore himself. In the course of time, this Ashram School expanded as the poet's reputation grew.

Life at Santiniketan left its impression on the poet's literary work. He wrote about India's past and present, and stories of noble self-sacrifice. He published more realistic novels such as *Choker Bali* [Eyesore] (1901), *Naukadubi* [The Wreck] (1903) and *Gora* (1910). He was trying to discover the eternal India which succeeds in achieving unity amidst a bewildering diversity of races, cultures and religions.

In 1912 Tagore left for the United Kingdom once again. Some of his poems and writings had already been translated into English and had attracted the attention of the well-known English painter Sir William Rothenstein and the poet W. B. Yeats. He made such an impression on the British writers and intellectuals that he was at once accepted as a great poet and intellectual. He was awarded

the Nobel Prize for Literature in November 1913 and came back to India after visiting the United States of America, delivering there his 'Sadhana' lectures (The Realization of Life, 1913). In 1916 Tagore went abroad again to Japan and then to the United States of America delivering lectures, published later in two volumes as *Nationalism* (1917*b*) and *Personality* (1917*c*).

This international experience gave him a new idea, that he must bring his country into contact with the world at large. He felt that overemphasis on narrow nationalism led men and countries into paths of conflict. There should be an institution which emphasized the unity of the world's cultures and streams of knowledge. He considered Santiniketan to be that institution. He was thus already contemplating the foundation of Visva Bharati, an international centre of culture and humanistic studies.

The foundation stone of Visva Bharati was laid on 24 December 1918. A separate institution called Sri Niketan was established in 1921.[5]

Education in India: historical background

By 1857, four years before Rabindranath was born, British power in India had been consolidated and the general foundation of a colonial system of education had been laid. The stated aim of British policy was the promotion of English studies with English language as the medium of instruction and the creation of a class of Indians who had been brought up in an English way. As a result, the traditional system of village, Sanskrit and Islamic schools languished.[6]

National universities had been established at Bombay, Madras and Calcutta, but secondary schools and universities were still the reserve of a small elite. The gulf between the fortunate upper classes and the vast masses of rural poor continued to widen. On the other hand, great socio-economic changes were taking place in the country, and especially in Calcutta and in other towns as they grew in size. Railways were built; factories sprang up; municipal water supplies arrived. A new class of people came to adopt European dress, manners, attitudes and life styles. Old values and traditions came to be questioned. It was a period of social upheaval and reforms in India.

Towards the end of the nineteenth and in the early twentieth centuries the middle class, which had come into being following the establishment of universities in 1857, began to protest against the imposed system of education and its parallel language policy. It is true that in the middle of the nineteenth century, when the British system was being introduced, a powerful group of urban classes expressed their preference for such studies. But, seeing the consequences and with a growing awareness of the Indian cultural heritage and history, the middle classes had come to resent the education which was being offered. While Tagore preferred the traditional system to the new one, he did not want to bring it back without considerable changes.

This period also saw a rise in Indian nationalism. There was resentment against an imitation of British lifestyles and against British rule, coupled with

increased awareness and appreciation of India's cultural traditions. Tagore's educational and other writings of the period reflect this nationalist trend. His concern with educational reform grew in intensity after 1901, and more so after 1905. Dissatisfaction with the existing system of education led to a general concern with reform.

A tragic series of family bereavements probably caused Tagore's withdrawal from the growing national struggle for independence in the country. He retired to his Ashram School to concentrate on its development and on the task of village reconstruction which he had initiated at Seliadah.

Tagore on education

The difficulty in writing about Tagore's educational ideas lies in the fact that he did not set them down in a connected account. His views are found scattered in a large number of independent essays and journal articles, in speeches to various audiences and in letters to individuals over a number of years.[7] Addresses to foreign audiences about his school at Santiniketan and on Visva Bharati are, of course, in English. Only recently have attempts been made to collect and publish these pieces in their original Bengali. There has been a tendency to group these diffuse writings into three broad divisions.

THE FIRST PHASE: 1892-1901

Tagore considered lack of education to be the main obstacle in the way of India's progress and at the root of all its problems. The prevailing, colonial education system he found unsatisfactory since the only objective it appeared to serve was to produce clerks to man government offices and British businesses in India. The basic objectives of any worthwhile national education system, such as promoting creativity, freedom, joy and an awareness of a country's cultural heritage, were completely ignored.

The education offered was not even modern, since it was unrelated to any developments going on the field of education outside India. Irrespective of the content, the medium of education was English – a foreign language – so that learning this language was an additional burden for young Indian students. Particularly, the educational process failed to develop scientific attitudes and the spirit of inquiry. On the other hand, it divided the Indian people into two classes: those who received this education and those who did not. The second group, comprising nearly everyone living in the countryside, remained almost completely cut off from the affluent, educated, English-speaking class living in cities and towns.

In the pre-colonial system, a common language promoted an unobstructed flow of culture, even if formal education was not available to all. However, there was no place even in informal educational activities for modern subjects, like

history, science and geography, and it did not promote objectivity in thinking, nor facilitate desirable social change.

THE SECOND PHASE, 1901-18

Tagore's preoccupation during this second phase was with developing an appropriate system of national education for India. Each nation was different and this fact should be reflected, he thought, in its system of education. The Ashram School at Santiniketan was founded in 1901 on the basis of the ancient Indian forest schools.

In *Tapovan* [The Forest Schools of India] (1909) Tagore asserted that the forest school was typical of the Indian system of education with its emphasis on three basic elements of Indian culture, namely *Advaita* (non-duality) in the field of knowledge, friendship for all in the field of feeling, and fulfilment of one's duties without concern for the outcomes in the field of action. In his view, the forest school integrated education with *Sadhana* (disciplining one's senses and one's own life). But Tagore updated this form of school to include science and similar modern subjects.

The second significant essay of this period was *Shikshar Vahana* [The Vehicle of Education] (1915) emphasizing the importance of the mother-tongue as the medium of education. The use of English in education hindered assimilation of what was taught, and kept education confined to urban centres and the upper classes. Thus, if the vast rural masses were to benefit, it was absolutely essential to switch over to the use of Bengali in the context of Bengal at all levels of education, including higher education. The ideal school, according to Tagore, should be established away from the turmoil of human habitation under an open sky and surrounded by vistas of fields, trees and plants. Living in a forest was also associated with austere pursuits and renunciation. The vast background of nature represented a grand perspective against which all objects, all feelings assumed their due proportions. He also referred to the significance of educating feelings as distinct from educating the senses and the intellect.

The word 'forest' used in this context, he explained, was not dense jungle, but *Tapovana*, the forest clearing.[8]

A national system of education in India should try to discover the characteristic truths of its civilization. Those truths are not commercialism, imperialism or nationalism, but rather universalism. The aim was all-round development of the individual personality through harmonious interaction and union of the spirit with the environment.

About the place of religion in education, Rabindranath said: 'Nature and human spirit, wedded together, would constitute our temple and selfless good deeds our worship' (*Dharma Sikhsha*, 1912).

Tagore himself was a teacher at the Ashram School and also gave thought to educational methods. He taught English language, and in the evenings related stories from Indian history to the children. He wrote plays for the students to

perform and entertaining verse for children, as well as simple textbooks in various subjects.[9]

Tagore was against any conspicuous emphasis on materials, buildings, furniture or books which imitated Western educational institutions in India. He thought that this would make education too expensive for the common people. He was against bookish learning:

> Books have come between our mind and life. They deprive us of our natural faculty of getting knowledge directly from nature and life and have generated within us the habit of knowing everything through books. We touch the world not with our mind, but with our books. They dehumanize and make us unsocial. . . . Let the students gather knowledge and materials from different regions of the country, from direct sources and from their own independent efforts.[10]

THE THIRD PHASE, 1918-41

Visva Bharati, Tagore's conception of a world university, was founded at the end of the First World War with a determination to go beyond aggressive nationalism and to build friendship with all nations.

After 1913, his travels abroad made him increasingly aware of what was going on in other countries. He came also to know a large number of intellectuals in the countries he visited. This in turn led him to emphasize co-operation between East and West, North and South (in today's jargon), in the field of humanistic studies and culture. From children's education and rural development, he increasingly shifted his attention to university education and developing the surrounding villages as one of the university's functions during this third phase. He wanted to devise an alternative form of education.

> In every nation, education is intimately associated with the life of the people. For us, modern education is relevant only to turning out clerks, lawyers, doctors, magistrates and policemen. . . . This education has not reached the farmer, the oil grinder, nor the potter. No other educated society has been struck with such disaster. . . . If ever a truly Indian university is established it must from the very beginning implement India's own knowledge of economics, agriculture, health, medicine and of all other everyday science from the surrounding villages. Then alone can the school or university become the centre of the country's way of living. This school must practise agriculture, dairying and weaving using the best modern methods. . . . I have proposed to call this school Visva Bharati.[11]

Tagore was convinced that no form of education offered in India, be it at school or at university level, would be complete without knowledge of patterns of rural living and without an effort by the universities to rejuvenate rural life. He considered this to be an important aspect of Visva Bharati's total activity.[12]

Writing about them in 1919 in his paper *Ashantosher Karon* [Cause of Dissatisfaction], he expressed his deep anguish at the contemporary attempts in India to establish new universities in exactly the same mould as existing ones due

to a lack of will or a lack of courage to attempt new forms. This had become imperative in view of the fact that the civil service was saturated and, as the student members grew, the majority of graduates failed to get clerical or any other type of white-collar jobs and were good for nothing else. The time had thus come, Tagore urged, to attempt a change in the aims of university education.

How to make education real and our life force? In the addresses he gave and the essays he wrote from 1919 to 1936 he tried to answer this question. In his own words:

> We must try to understand how Indian genius expressed itself . . . Unless we try to put these together and discover the integrating factors behind these diverse streams of thought and make them a subject of study at our universities, we would only be borrowing knowledge from abroad. The natural habitat for knowledge is where it is produced. The main task of universities is to produce knowledge, its dissemination is its secondary function. We must invite those intellectuals and scholars to our universities who are engaged in research, invention or creative activity.[13]

While nations sought primarily to give their citizens a means of livelihood through education, Tagore believed that there was a more important aim – that of personal fulfilment and self-improvement. It was important to borrow knowledge and experience from abroad, but not to use them as the foundation for Indian education.

Even so, if there was one European quality which Indian university students must acquire it was 'the desire to know, to find out about the laws of nature and to use them for the betterment of the conditions of human beings'.[14] Science and its applications in the form of technology have led to the power and prosperity of Western countries. Unless India acquired knowledge of science and technology through its universities and schools, poverty and powerlessness would continue. To transform life and make it richer, healthier and more educated, it was imperative to resort to technology and science. But Tagore wanted science to be taught along with India's own philosophical and spiritual knowledge at Indian universities.[15]

However, science without the constraint of self-knowledge, without appreciating that the quest for knowledge is the most important aim of human existence, leads to an endless desire for material goods and well-being, and the meaningless pursuit of the instruments of war and power, which are often the origin of conflict between nations and end, ultimately, in the suppression of the weaker by the stronger. That is why both spiritual and scientific knowledge are considered by Tagore as equally important.

In an address on the functions of the university,[16] Tagore argued that a university is an attempt by a nation to aggregate knowledge at one place, to develop it and to disseminate it to the younger generation.

Long before universities in the West had been established, there existed in India universities, such as Nalanda and Vikramshila, where various branches of knowledge had been pursued by scholars for centuries during the Buddhist

period of India's history. Students came to these universities from far and near in Asia to learn about the subjects taught, and to live with the teachers who were respected for their exemplary way of life. When universities came to be founded in Europe, the hold of religion was loosened. New methods of acquiring knowledge led to rapid growth in the fields of social, physical and life sciences. Modern universities collect existing knowledge in various fields from within a country or abroad, preserve and develop it and make it available to the younger generations. But contemporary Indian universities had not been concerned about collecting and preserving the national heritage, and enriching it by fusing it with knowledge coming from abroad. Neither had they been concerned about improving life in the villages. 'Universities here are like a lighted railway compartment in a train passing through the countryside which is enveloped in darkness.'

Furthermore the use of the English language at universities presents a language barrier confining the flow of knowledge and information. Unless a beginning was made in using the mother-tongue as a medium of instruction in regional universities the flow of knowledge to the countryside would not be restored. Of course, English was needed to build bridges so as to benefit from the growing corpus of knowledge existing abroad in the fields of science, technology and other subjects, but its central importance in India's education process would cease.

In his *Shikhar Suwangeekaran* [Make Education Your Own] (1936), he returned to his recurrent theme of the unnaturalness of the system of education in India, its lack of links with the nation and its management which was in the hands of a foreign government. The working of the government, its courts of law and its education system were conducted in a language completely unintelligible to the majority of Indians. He contrasted the situation in India with what he had seen in the USSR and in Japan, where the governments had been able to educate their people within a very short time. Educating India's entire population and restoring the flow of culture from the educated classes to the rural population would not come about unless the mother-tongue was adopted as the medium of teaching.

The second experiment: Sri Niketan

Santiniketan developed continuously from 1901 to 1921. The school, called Patha Bhawan, eventually became affiliated to Calcutta University and students could thus take the matriculation examination. For a long time, the funding of the school was entirely assumed by Tagore. This was possible because teachers' salaries were very low. Most of Tagore's personal income, proceeds from the sale of his property, most of the Nobel Prize money and royalties from his books were the sources of school finance. Only after receiving the Nobel Prize and after being knighted by the British did the Indian Government begin to take an interest in him.

Tagore was convinced that some new form of schooling could be worked out for the village children in India based on life in the countryside. He had purchased an old building and some land at a village called Surul, not far from Santiniketan. Fortunately for Santiniketan, Tagore met Leonard Elmhirst in the United States in 1921. Elmhirst was at that time reading agricultural science at Cornell University and was keen on spending some time in India doing rural reconstruction work. Tagore requested Elmhirst to join him. He told Elmhirst that Santiniketan was surrounded by a number of villages which, 'for some reason, appeared to be in a state of steady decline'.[17] There was no sign of effort on the part of the villagers: there was no joy, no food, no health, no idea of the importance of their own initiative and no co-operation among them. Tagore wanted Elmhirst first to find out why and then suggest remedial action. The objective was to raise the villagers' income, but the higher aim according to Tagore was to make them happy.[18]

Tagore was somewhat disappointed that Santiniketan had failed to achieve the ideal of bringing scientific knowledge to bear on life in the countryside. In order to improve the human condition in the villages of Eastern India, the population had to throw off their belief in fate and realize the importance of depending upon their own efforts. This is what Tagore had in mind when he launched the rural reconstruction work at Sri Niketan in a school called Shikshasastra. The objective of the new school was to provide an all-round education for village children, enabling them to earn a decent livelihood but also equipping them to improve rural life in all its aspects.[19]

From the very beginning, the major thrust of the programme at Sri Niketan under Elmhirst came to be increasing the productivity of the land. But Tagore also wanted a total improvement covering agriculture, education, health and social life in the villages. Agricultural research and experiments would be undertaken at Sri Niketan and the fruits of this research were to be carried to the villages. At the same time, medical care and the eradication of malaria were considered equally important. At the centre, specialists in various fields worked together to overcome the difficulties of rural life. In addition, a scout movement was organized to mobilize the children as a starting point for drawing their parents into the village development programme.

A fundamental area of instruction at Sri Niketan was handicrafts; it was compulsory for all students to learn a trade. Another major activity was the launching of some 200 co-operative societies for agricultural credit, irrigation, granaries, etc. Experiments were made on new crops and on new varieties of existing crops which appeared to be suitable for local conditions. A dairy farm gave practical demonstrations of animal husbandry on scientific lines. The villagers were expected to adopt rural industries to supplement their income. The village welfare department initiated public works (repairing and excavating reservoirs), looked after village schools, maintained a mobile library for villages, organized social and cultural activities and ran the scout movement. There was a health

section with a central dispensary; and a maternity and child-welfare section was added in 1940.

Sri Niketan aimed at combining work with joy. Picnics, excursions, games, music, theatrical performances and celebrating socio-religious festivals constituted regular features of the calendar. New Year's Day, the Rainy Season festival, the New Rice festival, the Spring festival were – and still are – all regular features. Tagore added *Halkarshan* (ploughing the land festival) and *Van Mahotosava* (tree planting). Apart from adding joy to dreary village life, some of these festivals brought students and villagers to work together.

For years Tagore tried to convince his countrymen through his speeches, stories, novels, poems and songs to work for rural revival. The call went unheeded until Gandhi came on the Indian political scene. Single handed, the poet had started his work: 'They call you mad. Wait for tomorrow and keep silent' (Poems, 1942).

> Of course, turning out songs is my proper vocation. But those who are unfortunate cannot afford to limit their choice to the works they do. They must also bear the burden of tasks they cannot do. The scale of our enterprise can never be a matter of pride to us, but let us hope that its truth will be. Ideas, if they have the vitality of truth in them, grow and spread in the course of time.[20]

How correct Tagore was in this respect. The entire programme followed at Sri Niketan for rural development was adopted by India's five-year plans as the correct approach to rural community development.

Influences

Apart from the three remarkable Englishmen who were Tagore's collaborators, namely C. F. Andrews, William Pearson and Leonard Elmhirst, numerous other scholars came to Santiniketan at the poet's invitation to participate in the teaching programmes.[21]

Tagore disowned being influenced by any of the well-known educationists. It was not any new theory of education but the memory of his schooldays that led him to establish his residential schools. 'I established my institution in a beautiful spot away from the town where the children had the greatest freedom possible under the shade of ancient trees.'[22]

Through contact with nature, by making them aware of community relations and with the help of literature, festivals and religious teaching, he tried to develop the souls of his children. But this turned out to be not quite enough, so he introduced work education as 'a joyous exercise of our inventive and constructive energies that help to build up character.'[23]

In many respects Tagore's ideas relating to the education of children resemble those of Rousseau, Fröbel, Dewey, Montessori and others. For instance, Rousseau considered nature as children's teacher, as does Tagore, but unlike Rousseau he retains a significant role for the teacher. Fröbel and Tagore both

advocate harmony with all that exists to be achieved through education; they are both in favour of play and domestic activities as part of education during infancy and activity in the community as part of the educational process during childhood. Fröbel stops here; but Tagore includes subsequent education under the purview of activity-oriented education. Both are for joy and festivities, and an awareness of the child's dignity as part of the educational environment. The resemblances between Fröbel and Tagore's ideas are indeed striking. The same is true to some extent of his approach to children's education compared with some of his contemporaries, such as Dewey, Maria Montessori and Tolstoy.[24]

As Sarkar (1961) points out, Tagore was familiar with many of these views, but all who knew the poet were aware that he was in no way indebted to them. His views were linked with the development of his own mind and spirit, and his profound understanding of India's traditional educational experience and philosophy.

His activity-oriented school for village children appears to have inspired Gandhi's ideas on basic education. Tagore's influence can also be seen in the report of the Kothari Commission on Education in India.

In Tagore's view, the higher aim of education was the same as that of a person's life, that is, to achieve fulfilment and completeness. There was a lesser aim, that of providing the individual with a satisfactory means of livelihood, without which a person would not be able to satisfy his/her basic requirements and thus fail to achieve either of these two aims. Tagore also imagined that the limitless development of man is possible only in an environment free from any kind of bondage. Apart from the scriptures, it would seem that he was influenced by the attitudes which arose in Europe during the Renaissance and the Age of Reason.

In his view, education was not intellectual development alone. It should also develop a student's aesthetic nature and creativity. The quest for knowledge and physical activity in an agreeable environment were integral parts of the process. Freedom and creativity are linked in Tagore's thought, one conditioning the other. The more people go beyond the limitations of their animal nature, the closer they come to humanism, freedom and unity and are then able to develop their creativity. This quest alone gives a meaning to life, and education is an effort to make life meaningful. Here the aims of the individual and those of the community have become almost one.

Tagore did not neglect the lesser aims of life and education. In the colonial system of education which existed at that time the whole focus of education was on employment, to the complete neglect of the higher aims of life. His intention was to correct this wrong emphasis, without ignoring science, technology and agricultural sciences, as well as training in village crafts. Without these, it was not possible to revive the derelict life of rural India. Both categories of aims should thus be considered the objective of education.

It was necessary, Tagore felt, to make the younger generation aware of their national cultural heritage and to grasp its significance for them. At the same

time, education should bring children face to face with the cultures of other countries and persuade them to learn from them.

Tagore put great emphasis on the use of a national language as the vehicle of education at all stages of education. He wanted Indian universities to integrate themselves with society and make an effort to educate people living in the countryside. He did not want education to remain confined to the cities and to particular classes of society.

He was very much concerned with women's education. His educational institutions have almost always been co-educational and the number of female students is conspicuously large at Santiniketan. He wanted women and men to be offered similar theoretical courses with separate practical courses for women, since their roles in life differed from those of men.

Tagore considered teachers to be very important in any scheme of education. He wanted teachers to help young children to grow on their own as a gardener helps the young plants to grow. He wanted to use education as an instrument of change to make Indian young men and women more rational and less subject to meaningless social and individual rituals.

Tagore wanted his students to acquire a scientific temper; in other words, he wanted teachers to stimulate constructive doubt, the love of mental adventure, the courage and longing to conquer the world by enterprise and boldness in thought and in action. These were the virtues cultivation of which had made the West forge ahead.

Tagore was against any form of corporal punishment to impose discipline. He wanted discipline to come from within, from the pursuit of noble and high ambitions in life. Discipline would follow naturally when minor impulses and desires were willingly forgone to pursue grand creative desires.

He wanted his students to think in terms of the whole of mankind. He wanted them to become universal men and women like himself and to overcome feelings of narrow nationalism in order that the world could live and grow in peace and fellowship.

The poet passed away in 1941. The two institutions specific to Tagore's educational ideas and experiments still survive in the form of Patha Bhawan (the school section) at Santiniketan and in the form of Sikshasastra and Sri Niketan – of course, they have been modified a good deal over this long stretch of time. They form the core of the Santiniketan ideal. Visva Bharati survives too; it is now a central university and has changed considerably. The emphasis that Tagore placed on the teaching of the fine arts and crafts, and on music, continues in the form of two separate autonomous institutions under the general supervision of Visva Bharati. These institutions are: the Kala Bhawan (the school of fine arts); and the Sangeet Bhawan (the school of music and dance). Emphasis on the teaching of various Indian languages and on the teaching of Asian cultures, and the presence of an international faculty are not very evident. But there is a Cheena Bhawan (the school of Chinese language and culture), Hindi Bhawan, a

School of Islamic Studies, and a good number of students from Far Eastern countries, particularly in the Kala Bhawan and the Sangeet Bhawan.

But one can see that Tagore's memory still dominates life on the university campus. The following poem from *Gitanjali* [Song Offerings] brings together the ideals the poet kept before the nation, before mankind, and before his educational institutions.

Where the mind is without fear,
and the heart is held high,
Where the world is not broken up into fragments
by narrow domestic walls,
Where the words came out from
the depths of truth,
Where tireless striving stretches its arms
towards perfection;
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its
way into the dreary desert sand of dead habits,
Where the mind is led forward by thee into
everwidening thought and action –
Into that heaven of freedom,
My father, let my country awake.[25]

Notes

1. Rabindranath Tagore, 'My School', in: *Personality*, London, Macmillan, 1917. For a detailed account of his early schooling see: *My Reminiscences*, London, Macmillan, 1917 (a translation of *Jivan Smiti*); and *My Boyhood Days*, Santiniketan, Visva Bharati, 1940 (a translation of *Chhelebela*).
2. R. Tagore, *Social Work*, 1915. Translated into English by B. N. Ganguli for the Seminar on the Human Factor in the Growth of the Rural Economy, *Visva Bharati Quarterly* (Santiniketan), Vol. 7, 1961, pp. 19-30.
3. Ibid.
4. Rabindranath Tagore, 'Shiskar Herpher' (1892) in: *Siksha* [A Collection of Essays on Education], pp. 17-19, Visva Bharati, 1990. English translation: R. Tagore, *Towards Universal Man*, Bombay, Asia, 1961.
5. K. Kripalani, *Rabindranath Tagore: A Biography*, Santiniketan, Visva Bharati; B. Chandhusi et al. (eds.), *Introduction to Tagore*, Santiniketan, Visva Bharati, 1982; Bhabatosh Dutta, *A Short Biography*, Santiniketan, Visva Bharati.
6. For an account of education under British rule, see: H. B. Mukherjee, *Education for Fullness*, Bombay, Asia, 1962.
7. See: Tagore, *Siksha*, op. cit.
8. 'Tapovana' in Tagore, *Siksha*, op. cit., pp. 78-101.
9. Tagore wrote the following English primers in Bengali: *Engrezee Sopan*, 2 vols., 1904, 1906; *Engrezee Patha*, 1909; and *Anuvad Charcha* [A Discussion of Translations] in two parts: 'Engrezee Sruti Siksha', 1929; 'Engrezee Sahaj Siksha', 1930. At the age of 70 he wrote a primer in Bengali for young children: *Sahaj Patha*, 1932.

10. 'Avaran' [Children's Clothes] (1906) in *Siksha*, op. cit., pp. 15-77.
11. Rabindranath Tagore, *Addresses by Tagore*, pp. 9-10, Santiniketan, Visva Bharati, 1963. For an English translation, M. Das Gupta, *Santiniketan and Sri Niketan*, Calcutta, Visva Bharati, 1983.
12. This was an intensive period of university building in India, for instance: Banaras Hindu, 1915; Patna, 1917; Mysore, 1916; Osmania, Hyderabad, 1918; Aligarh, 1921; Lucknow, 1921; Dacca, 1921; Delhi, 1922; etc.
13. *Visva Bharati Bulletin* (Santiniketan), No. 1, 1919.
14. 'Akanksha' [Ambition], *Shanti Niketan Patrika*, 1919, pp. 8-9.
15. Shikshar Milan [Meeting of the Two Branches of Education] (1921), *Siksha*, op. cit., pp. 180-98.
16. Rabindranath Tagore, *Visva Vidyalayer Roop* [The Functions of a University], 1932; *Ashramer Roop O Vikas* [The Form of the Ashram School], Santiniketan, Visva Bharati, 1941.
17. Quoted in L. K. Elmhirst (ed.), *Rabindranath Tagore: a Pioneer in Education. Essays and Exchanges between Rabindranath Tagore and L. K. Elmhirst*. London, John Murray, 1962.
18. Ibid.
19. *Visva Bharati Bulletin* (Santiniketen), No. 21, 1936.
20. Sudhir Sen (ed.), *Rabindranath Tagore on Rural Reconstruction*, Santiniketan, Visva Bharati, 1943.
21. Kripalani, op. cit., p. 316; also Prabir Kumar Devanath, *Ravi tir the Videshi* [Foreigners in Rabindranath's Holy Place], Calcutta, Book Home, 1986.
22. Tagore, *Personality*, op. cit.
23. Rabindranath Tagore, 'My Educational Mission' in *The Modern Review*, June 1931, pp. 621-23.
24. Manindra Nath Jana, *Education for Life: Tagore and Modern Thinkers*, Calcutta, Firma K.L.M. (Pvt.) Ltd., 1984; Mukherjee, op. cit.; Sunil Chandra Sarkar, *Tagore: Educational Philosophy and Experiment*, Santiniketan, Visva Bharati, 1961. Profiles of Dewey, Fröbel, Montessori, Rousseau and Tolstoy are included in this series of '100 Thinkers on Education' – Ed.
25. Rabindranath Tagore, *Gitanjali* [Song Offerings]. English translation in prose by Tagore himself in a book of 103 of his poems published by London, The Indian Society, 1912.

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1917*b*. *Nationalism*. London, Macmillan.
1917*c*. *Personality*. London, Macmillan.
1922. *Creative Unity*. London, Macmillan.
1931. *Religion of Man*. London, Allen & Unwin. (The Hibbert Lectures)
1941. *Ashramar Roop O Vikas* [The Form of the Ashrama School]. Santiniketan, Visva Bharati.
1944. *The Parrot's Training and Other Stories*. Santiniketan, Visva Bharati.
1961. *Towards Universal Man*. (Introduction by H. Kabir.) Bombay, Asia. Contents: 'The Vicissitudes of Education'; 'Society and State'; 'The Problem of Education'; 'Hindu University'; 'The Centre of Indian Culture'; 'The Unity of Education'; 'A Poet's

School'; 'City and Village'; 'Co-operation'; 'The Changing Age'; and 'The Crisis in Civilisation'.

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1913. *Glimpses of Bengal Life*. Madras, G. Natisan.

1916. *Hungry Stones and Other Stories*. London, Macmillan.

1925. *Broken Ties and Other Short Stories*. London, Macmillan.

Many anthologies of his poems exist in English translations. These have been listed in:

Chandhusi, B. et al. (eds.). *Introduction to Tagore*, pp. 465-70. Santiniketan, Visva Bharati, 1982.

A detailed account of all Tagore's publications in chronological order can be found in:

Radhakrishnam, S. et al. (eds.). *A Centenary Volume: Rabindra Nath Tagore – 1861-1961*, pp. 504-19. New Delhi, Sahitya Academi, 1961.

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RIFĀ'A AL-TAHTĀWĪ

(1801–74)

Saïd Ismaïl 'Alī

There are many people who have enriched intellectual life with the outcomes of their thinking, and produced hundreds or even thousands of written pages on questions of concern to educators.

But there are few whose efforts leave their mark on the progress of thought. Even fewer are those whose contributions mark the beginning of a new historical era in the development of thought.

There is no doubt that al-Tahtāwī belongs to this third category.

He formed part of a general movement for change which, under the direction of Muhammad-Ali, affected all of Egypt's political, economic and cultural structures. He can be regarded as the principal artisan in the construction of an unprecedented intellectual edifice, showing the way to the many intellectuals who followed.

It could not be claimed that he was primarily an educational theorist, in the literal sense of the word, because he had an encyclopedic knowledge, like many of the great minds who preceded him and others who came after.

Thus he may be said to have been a political thinker and economist, as well as a man of letters. It is no exaggeration to call him a social reformer, and I believe I am justified in speaking of him as a teacher.

Social background

In Egypt, as in most of the other administrative areas of the Ottoman Empire, power was essentially based on maintaining the *status quo ante*. The country had preserved the essential features of life before the arrival of the Ottomans, in terms of the organization of administration and finance and the structure of society itself. Although Ottoman rule lasted nearly three centuries, it was culturally impoverished and produced no radical change in the life of Egyptian society. This long interregnum, plus the country's isolation due not only to the presence of the Ottomans but also to the evolution of world trade routes away

from the Middle East in order to circumnavigate Africa, plunged Egypt and the entire region into a state of oblivion, far from the effects of the cultural currents which swept Europe, from the Italian Renaissance to the French Revolution.[1]

By the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, the full effects of the Renaissance in Europe had borne fruit in every field of scientific, practical and economic life. One of the consequences of these changes was the rise to power of a number of Western countries who saw new horizons opening up and who manifested the desire to extend their influence through military invasion and colonial expansion. The more the Western countries advanced along the path of progress and prosperity, the more the Islamic and Arab states fell into obscurity.[2]

In 1798 Egypt fell, for a time, under the heel of French occupation; England awaited its moment; Muhammad-Ali, the intelligent Albanian officer who took power in Egypt in 1805, understood that fear would imprison him unless he consolidated the Egyptian army. He sought to know the reasons for the rise of the Western countries, and to find out in particular how their troops were organized and armed. He then saw that a prerequisite to achieving this military objective was a scientific renewal. He soon found that the West had gained a considerable advance and that things were not as simple as he had thought. In fact, the modern Western armies had exploited new knowledge in the fields of engineering, natural sciences and chemistry, as well as human and veterinary medicine. To acquire all this understanding necessitated a long period of education quite different from that provided in Egyptian schools, which were reduced at that time to the legal-religious sciences (*charia*) and to the so-called instrumental sciences that the former needed.

Put another way, science was taught only to the extent that it served as an instrument to understand and apply Islamic law. Muhammad-Ali then undertook to introduce Western science, or those aspects in which the West excelled, in order to achieve this military objective.[3]

In opening Egypt up to the West, Muhammad-Ali mainly resorted to study missions, which he began to organize four years after taking power. These missions followed one another in an unbroken series in various specializations, emphasis being placed on science and technology.[4]

The impact of these missions was felt in all sectors of national activity, but was most evident in that of translation. With Muhammad-Ali, of whom it can be said that his reign was one of translation and Arabization with a view to a cultural renaissance, this movement began from scratch. The aim was to establish a dialogue between European teachers and students from modern schools who knew no foreign languages.[5]

After Muhammad-Ali Egypt fell into torpor, Abbas closed the schools, apart from a few, and the factories stopped working. He broke the contact with Europe and decided to do without the French civil servants – who accounted for most of the foreigners working in the country. He also decided to do without the

support of Egyptian and foreign scientists, hence obliterating the literary and translation movement which was not yet on a solid foundation.[6]

The reign of Said was less marked by stagnation than that of his predecessor Abbas, even if to some extent he continued the same tendency towards decline. The situation evolved considerably under Ismaïl who took to an extreme the process of opening Egypt up to the West.

Biography

During the very year that the French expeditionary force left Egypt and, it is said, on the very day that the French left – 14 October 1801 – the father of modern Arab thought and the founder of Egypt's cultural renaissance was born: Rifā'a Räfic al-Tahtāwī.[7]

Rifā'a was born and spent his childhood in Tahta, where he began his studies, before moving between Menchat Nabda (near Guirgueh) and the towns of Kénèh and Farshout. Then in 1817, after the death of his father, he went to live in Cairo, to study at al-Azhar. He was then 16 years old. At al-Azhar, al-Tahtāwī, like his fellow students, studied the religious sciences, language and literature, but he did so under a revolutionary teacher who had considerable influence on his thinking and to whom he owed a great deal, Sheik Hassan al-'Attār.[8]

Al-'Attār managed to convince Muhammad-Ali to appoint Rifā'a as an *imam* in the army. Later, in 1826, when Muhammad-Ali decided to send a number of young Egyptians to Paris, al-'Attār suggested he should send an *imam* with them to guide them in that tumultuous city, and to charge Rifā'a with the task. Rifā'a devoted himself to studying the sciences included in the mission members' programme with more zeal than the students themselves. He began by perfecting his knowledge of French, which allowed him to study history, geography and literature. His application was such that he attracted the attention of the French director of the mission who encouraged him and undertook to turn him into the translator who would put into Arabic the knowledge the new army needed in the field of military science, engineering, natural science and chemistry. Rifā'a therefore studied all these subjects, together with philosophy and sociology, but what enhanced his knowledge and developed his personality most was the fact that he was not content merely to study but looked at the surrounding world to understand how life was organized in France.[9]

Rifā'a returned to Egypt in 1831, bubbling with ideas, desires and hope for evolution and renewal, but refraining from hasty or inconsequential actions.

When he submitted to Muhammad-Ali his proposal to establish a translation school, he explained in his draft that 'the country could benefit from it and do without the foreigners'. In the speech he gave in 1839 at the first graduation ceremony, referring to the original objective of the school, he said: 'everyone knows that the fundamental reason why we set up this school was a wish to work for the good of the country – for love of one's country is an act of faith –

and to make it less necessary to go to European countries, something which is not in everyone's reach, and to do one's work conscientiously.' Known as 'the translation school' when it was set up in 1835, the establishment was later renamed the School of Languages.[10]

During the ten years that he lived under the reign of Ismaïl, from 1863 until his death in 1874, Al-Tahtāwī recovered his vitality which had been partly stifled under the reigns of Abbas and Saïd. His activities blossomed: he was able to take up his work again in the fields of education and teaching, as well as translation, and to devote himself – as never before – to writing books. His level of activity came close to what it had been in the time of Muhammad-Ali and d'Ibrahim.[11]

Intellectual output

The intellectual works of Al-Tahtāwī, not including his translations, cover practically all the topical requirements of the Arab renaissance period.

The Ottoman Empire was familiar with Arab printing before invading Egypt; however, the output of this industry in Turkey over a century (from 1738 to 1830) did not exceed forty books, while Al-Tahtāwī and the cultural movement he started and directed gave the community over 2,000 works in less than forty years. There is also a startling difference in quality between the books printed in Istanbul and those published in Cairo: the former were backward-looking, devoted to fables and made innumerable attempts to halt progress, while the latter laid the solid and creative foundation for building a re-awakened and radiant Egypt.[12]

Al-Tahtāwī was fully aware of the difference between the specialist man of science and the thinker and encyclopedic writer. He quotes Ibn Qutayba, who said: 'He who wants to be a man of science must cultivate a single art and he who wants to be a cultivated man (*adib*) must broaden the range of his knowledge', and adds this comment: 'This is the best path we could ever take; we praise and direct ourselves towards its merits'.[13]

The first objective that Al-Tahtāwī set himself in all he did – the resurrection and success of the nation – is the pivotal point of all this great pioneer's works. In his book *Takhlīs al-Ibrīz fī Talkhīs Barīz* [The Quintessence of Paris], where he tells of his visit to France, he explains that his purpose was to describe places 'not from the standpoint of pleasure, ostentation and the things tourists talk about, but for producing a guide for the use of future travellers'.[14]

The same concern for teaching reappears in his last book, *Nihāyat al-Ijāz fi sīrat Sākin al Hijāz* [A View of the Life of the Hedjaz People]. He traces the life of the Prophet not from pure devotion or the desire to attract merit; he describes the political, economic and legal structure of the state, its administration and its functions not simply as a matter of historical research, but to provide lessons for those who were then building the modern state.[15]

Ahmed Ahmed Badawi gives a list of those works written or translated by Al-Tahtāwī that he has managed to identify.[16]

A visitor attentive to Western civilization

Before going to Paris, Rifā'a al-Tahtāwī had certainly heard his master, Sheik Hassan al-'Attār, and others, describing the progress made by the French in science and engineering as well as the marvels to be found in their museums and observatories which reflected their rapid progress in botany, zoology, astronomy and so on. We know how al-Djabartī was dumbfounded by the successes of modern science he saw in the Egyptian Academy of Science. His works show also that he was continually amazed by the progress made by the French in mechanical engineering and technology and the skills they deployed in the execution of their tasks.[17]

However, in spite of all this manifest admiration, al-Djabartī did not react favourably to the practices, traditions and convictions of the French, and he waxes ironic about the unveiled French woman and the adoration which she receives from the French male. He is equally critical about what he sees as the signs of weakening morals arising from the mixing of the sexes and the abandonment of virtue.

There is no doubt that the position of al-Djabartī was entirely different from that of Rifā'a. The former was an Egyptian who saw the French as an army of occupation – an enlightened one it is true – that had conquered his country by force. Rifā'a, on the other hand, saw the French in their own country and threw himself into society as he found it, which enabled him to study it with an open and completely impartial mind.[18]

Rifā'a went to Paris as the *imam* of a mission sent to France by an ambitious ruler to study the various branches of administration, arts and science. As such, he was not required to find out about the state of science and French society. He merely had to discharge his function of *imam* to the members of the mission.

However, a vigorous seed grows quickly in a fertile soil and al-Tahtāwī understood what his fellow *imams* did not. There were in fact three other *imams* with him and none were attracted by the 'exotic' programmes of science in France, or went beyond the boundaries of their functions. He, on the other hand, acquired a reputation and a place in posterity.[19]

Grasping the essence of Western civilization in only five years did not affect the life of Sheik Rifā'a, who remained and would remain an Egyptian Muslim. The change was strictly methodological, enabling him to succeed where most of his companions on the first mission failed, in penetrating European civilization in its French manifestation.[20]

His book *Takhlīs al-Ibrīz* was the first to address Egyptians and Muslims about France 'from within', in other words in their own language, and not in a foreign language.

But the main contribution of this unique book was perhaps that it was the first in the history of modern Arab literature to call on the Muslims (it was translated into Turkish and was read in Arabic by non-Egyptians, such as the Tunisian Kheireddin and others) to accept a new world of political and social ideas. In his 1834 book the author for the first time gave a detailed and convincing statement of these ideas, which took firm root in a soil which had been ready for them since the French expedition and even earlier, and which was to provide a forcing bed for other ideas and activities that would multiply and spread within the limits that the conditions allowed.[21]

In the introduction to his book, Al-Tahtāwī acknowledged the recommendations that had been made to him before the journey and with which he did in fact comply: 'I was to note what took place during this journey, what I would see, the strange and surprising things I would have the opportunity to encounter, and to retain it all so that it could be turned to account.'[22] His intention was to 'study foreign science, engineering and the arts, all acknowledged to be advanced in the West, since one must bow before the truth'.

Elsewhere he said: 'the Islamic countries have excelled in the sciences of the *charia* and their application, and in the rational sciences, neglecting the political sciences in their entirety. Thus they need the Western countries in order to acquire that which they do not possess.'[23]

Al-Tahtāwī supported this exhortation to learn from the West with a *hadith* (a narrative saying attributed to the Prophet) saying: 'Search for knowledge, as far afield as China.' 'Provided that the religion is safeguarded, there is no wrong in travelling, particularly with such a praiseworthy objective.'[24]

This perhaps explains why, even though he acknowledged the superiority of Europe and the need to profit from it, his Arab-Islamic cultural identity obliged him to display a feeling of jealousy: 'Praise God! throughout my stay in this country, I felt sadness at what it enjoyed and what Islam lacked.'[25]

The political, social and economic basis of education

As we know, education is an area of application; it is therefore based upon another group of sciences whose principal concepts and general results constitute the 'basis' to the extent that they influence the activity of education. Thus, many of the ideas and opinions put forward by Rifa'a in the fields of politics, sociology and economics represent the basis of educational action.

POLITICAL DEMOCRACY

In view of the circumstances of life facing the peoples of the Arab nation in the first part of the nineteenth century, the propositions of al-Tahtāwī about the constitution, parliamentary regime and foundations of justice and liberty which should underlie the regime in place are highly pertinent, particularly as all this also includes education for all as a right.

In his propositions, Al-Tahtāwī proceeds in the same way as the merchant presenting his goods to clients. Taking a neutral stance, he explains the different features of the goods to his reader, leaving him free to choose. However, in this neutral presentation he stresses the advantages and demonstrates them, describes the attractions and the ease of use, certain that the client will buy as soon as he has completed his explanation. He begins by introducing the reader to the French constitution which he calls *sharta*, not with reference to the French word *charte* [charter] but by transposition of the word used by the Turks in speaking of the constitution promulgated by the Sultan Abdul-Hamid in 1876. The Turks called this constitution *mashruta* and *mashrutiya*, these two words being derived from *shart*, a legal term signifying the observance by one contracting party of the conditions (*shart*) laid down by the other.[26]

One of the rules of the *charia* is that the conditions of the *wāqif* (the giver of a good – *waqf*,) like the provisions of the legislator, in other words like a divine sentence or a law, should be mandatory. Al-Tahtāwī describes this constitution as follows:

> The book in question which contains this law is called a *charte* which comes from the Latin *charta*, meaning paper, which has later been used with a broader meaning. I looked at the register in which these provisions were set out and I shall tell you about it, even if the greater part of its content is found neither in the book of Allah the Most High, nor in the *sunna* [the corpus of Islamic custom and practice] of his Prophet (to Him be salvation and blessing), so that you may know how it was that they decided that justice and equity were factors in the prosperity of kingdoms and the tranquillity of peoples, and how the rulers and subjects have been guided by these ideas to such an extent that their countries have developed, their knowledge has increased, their wealth has accumulated, and their hearts are at peace. None of them is ever heard to complain, so much is justice the basis of development.[27]

In using this formula, al-Tahtāwī is not concerned with the lay nature of the French regime, with religion separated from the state; he simply wants to make the Egyptian or Arab reader understand that the provisions of the French constitution give prominence to justice not as a defiance of religion, but because the rules of equity and justice are natural to man. All human beings, whether Muslim or Buddhist, Hindu or Jew, need to base the government of their country on justice, for justice, by its very nature, encourages progress in the country and the expansion of knowledge. Thus the formula stresses the need to promote justice since this invariably guarantees the well-being of all, however different their convictions, and the intellectual tardiness of which the Muslims complain is due only to the spread of injustice amongst them.[28]

THE MATERIAL BASIS OF SOCIETY

Rifā'a speaks of two principles without which a nation cannot achieve progress. The first concerns moral standards and good manners in general, of which reli-

gion is the main pillar, while the second deals with material factors 'which procure wealth, opulence, well-being and tranquillity to the entire group, and cast out the primitive condition'.[29] The first is 'moral' and the second 'material', being based upon 'the exercise of an activity and manual labour'.

Rifā'a says a great deal about the question – material factors being indispensable to meeting what are called fundamental needs: 'Every individual, every kingdom, needs to obtain that which it needs to satisfy its desire, particularly that which no human being can do without.'[30] In this connection he quotes the word of God: 'We did not make bodies that ate no food and they were not immortal' (Prophets, v. 8). 'If matter, which supports life, is absent, life ceases, and life on earth becomes impossible for those who dwell there. If an individual lacks the means of subsistence, he falls into misery and uncertainty in proportion to the difficulty he experiences in obtaining the missing matter, so true is it that one thing which depends upon another prospers with it and perishes with it'.

On the basis of such reasoning, al-Tahtāwī begins to address repeated criticisms to a fraction of the Muslim community, those who conceive religion as a factor which bypasses material property and the acquisition of wealth, and urges asceticism, which implies isolation, while the search for wealth requires an understanding with others, trade with men and the insertion into a vast network of social relationships, which complies with the nature of the human being whom God has made sociable. In fact, relationships encourage the exchange of well-being, the enrichment of ideas and mutual good advice and contribute to spreading love:

> hence those who believe that virtue lies in asceticism and renounce human commerce and keep themselves apart, enclosed in their ivory tower, withdraw to the desert or wander abroad to become dervishes, these will never acquire any of the civic virtues normally encountered in humankind. In fact, whoever does not frequent his peers and does not cohabit with them in cities, does not develop qualities such as integrity, the desire to help others, generosity and equity.[31]

Contrary to a widespread idea according to which Islam does its best to denigrate wealth and glorify poverty, our thinker stresses the fact that wealth is a manifestation of strength which Islam demands of believers and goes even further by affirming that the 'good' mentioned in the Koran is 'fortune' so long as it is spent in good actions. As to the disapproval of the accumulation of goods spoken of by Islam, it applies to whoever acquires goods in a miserly way and refrains from spending them on good works.

The search for wealth is therefore desirable and recommended, but it should be based upon an important principle to which the Prophet refers in the *hadith*: 'Man's actions, until his death, fall into three groups: regular alms, useful knowledge and virtuous child (who calls down blessings on his father)'.

Al-Tahtāwī dwells on the first element, that is 'regular alms' to stress the fact that this expression concerns the proportion of wealth one sets aside to spend on the general interest, or what is called the public good. Thus, he is not

thinking of 'individual benevolence' whereby one gives a share of wealth to somebody enabling them to resolve a problem that is specific to them as an individual. This should be taken to mean that alms are intended for a lasting action the fruits of which will benefit all mortals: 'The principle is that alms should be continuous and eternal, their benefits endless and their source unquenchable, like digging a well . . . planting trees in the shade of which one may shelter, opening canals, building roads, and other durable good actions.'[32]

We well know that this general principle was of benefit to the education movement when the Islamic civilization was flourishing and that many donations were made for the benefit of education.

WORK: THE BASIS OF WEALTH

It is clear that al-Tahtāwī was interested in what today is called political economy, the fashionable science of nineteenth-century Europe which guided its social revolution, as philosophy had guided its political revolution.[33]

But what is most remarkable is that he grasped this idea which only began to be widespread in educational thought at the beginning of the 1960s: it is important to take account of human resources, which are the real driving force behind development, and not only natural wealth. In fact, he stresses work, which he regards as the essential factor in development.

He takes the example of an economic sector which was dominant in Egypt at the time, that of agriculture, and raises this essential question:

> Is the source of wealth, fortune, prosperity and easy living the earth, with work no more than a simple instrument, something which has no value except through its application to agriculture, or, on the contrary, is work the foundation of wealth and happiness, the source of goods and abundance, the primary foundation of the community and the nation? In other words, do men not obtain happiness by extracting from the earth whatever they need, whatever is useful to them and ensures their well-being in such a way that men must go to work, the earth's merit being only secondary or accessory?[34]

Al-Tahtāwī gives an immediate answer to this question: he declares that he is on the side of work, pointing out that those who work the earth are of the same opinion:

> such is, in any event, the view of the peasants, who know that the earth can only be made fertile by continuous and constant labour, without which it remains sterile. Work gives a value to all things which, without it, have none. This is the case of things which belong to nobody, which one cannot buy or sell and which, in themselves, are worth nothing, like water and air . . . When one feels, at home, the need to breathe the air and one opens doors and windows to do so, by this act one gives the air which enters a value it did not have beforehand.[35]

FREEDOM: AN ELEMENT OF HUMAN NATURE

Since it is individuals that are educated, it is essential to take their nature into account. Now, nobody will dispute that freedom is a natural sentiment. In fact, educating restrained human beings would not result in the flowering of their faculties and creativity. Hence the attention paid by al-Tahtāwī to this important aspect of human nature. He devotes an entire chapter of his book *Al-Murchid al-amin lil-Banāt wal-banīn* [The Faithful Guide for Young Girls and Boys] to freedom. Here the idea of freedom is examined in more detail and more methodically than in the rest of his works.[36] For him, freedom is part of human nature: 'freedom is, by its very nature, anchored in the human heart'. It is in this chapter we find the longest definition of freedom al-Tahtāwī ever gives:

> Since freedom is the faculty to accomplish legitimate work, with no illegitimate hindrance or abusive opposition, the rights of every person in a civilized country stem from freedom; the country is characterized, with respect to its social corpus, by the fact that this person is free, that he can move from one place to another, from one region to another, without hindrance or constraint and do what he wants with his person, his time and his business with no obstacles other than those imposed by the law or politics, in accordance with the principles of justice of his country. Amongst other civil liberties, no-one can be exiled from his country or condemned within his country without a legal judgement or a political decision in accordance with the principles of this country; nobody can be prevented from freely doing what he likes with his goods, whatever they are, except by the laws of his country, nor deprived of the right of expression so long as his words or writings do not infringe these laws.[37]

These propositions seem commonplace today, but they take on an entirely different value when one considers just what the freedom of citizens consisted of at the time. It must also be stressed that this concept of freedom and its success, although today it has become a commonplace from the intellectual point of view, continues to belong in practice to the sphere of dreams!

For al-Tahtāwī, there are five types of freedom: natural freedom, the freedom of behaviour, religious freedom, civil freedom and political freedom.[38]

'The end product of all these freedoms is man's happiness, for freedom is but a means to an end'. He also says:

> In this sense, freedom is the means par excellence of ensuring the happiness of peoples. When it is based on good and just laws, it is an essential instrument in the well-being of peoples and their happiness and the fount of the love they bear for their country. In fact, freedom may everywhere be summarized as the right to do what the law allows and not to be forced to do what is prohibited in one's country, such that every citizen is able there to enjoy whatever is legitimate. Whatever prevents the accomplishment of legitimate acts, without valid reason, is a deprivation of rights. The author of such prevention usurps the right of another to enjoy what is legitimate, violates his rights and infringes the laws of his country. When the freedom of citizens is accompanied by the justice of princes, it is in no way harmful to the state.[39]

Al-Tahtāwī demonstrates the link between freedom and education by pointing out that when governments restrict the freedoms of their peoples, they are accustomed to justify these restrictions 'by the inadequacy of general education and declare that they are waiting for progress to be made on the subject and the condition of the people to improve . . . for education and improvements in the situation of the people endow them with maturity and the capability to manage their affairs.'[40]

The people must therefore be offered multiple and diverse forms of education. Al-Tahtāwī borrows a proposition from a wise man: 'give me what I need to improve education and I will reform the whole world. When the human mind has mastered practical understanding, he engages in human intercourse and in the invention of tools and instruments useful for all, and everyone devotes himself to his work and his activities . . .'.[41]

SOCIAL JUSTICE

While freedom is one of the conditions of human education, it is necessarily bound up with another such condition: justice. It can happen in fact that freedom is monopolized by one group and others are excluded. Many arguments have been invoked to support this kind of restriction, the commonest being the concern to protect and ensure safety. It can also happen that freedom is too great, to the extent of breaking down essential barriers, opening the way to a breakdown of morals, laxity and chaos. Justice then becomes the norm, so long as it meets an elementary need: the feeling of security. Indeed, how is it possible to educate a human being who is subject to fear and terror, or when he is crushed by a feeling of injustice?

Thus al-Tahtāwī emphasizes the notion of justice, even though the term he uses (*i'tidāl*) does not have the same meaning as it does today. In any event, what is important is that which engendered his interest in France, 'equality before justice and before the law with each given the possibility of claiming his rights and defending himself against injustice'.

When he evokes the constitution, he stresses its general principle, in other words 'justice and equity', but he does not stop there: he relates this principle to the relevant cause: 'Justice and equity are factors in civilization and well-being'. When both rulers and ruled pursue this path, 'the country prospers, knowledge and wealth increase and hearts are at peace. No-one is ever heard to complain of an injustice; justice is thus the basis of civilization'.

Al-Tahtāwī, aware of the importance of justice for humanity, quotes many phrases that he read or heard in France about this general principle of raising up the nation. Two examples: 'injustice towards widows and orphans is a cause of poverty' or 'no authority without men, no men without goods, no goods without civilization and no civilization without justice'.

Reviewing the clauses of the French Constitution, al-Tahtāwī dwells on the first article which states: 'Frenchmen are equal before the law' and then he –

from a society governed by a being of divine origin with absolute power and no responsibility to anybody – stresses that this passage means that 'the law is above the prince and applies to him as to everyone else'. He goes further, not content with explaining the meaning of this article and its effects but expresses his admiration: 'let us consider this first article. It reflects an intense desire to see justice reign, to help the oppressed and to satisfy the wish of the poor to be treated like the powerful, in the implementation of justice.'[42]

Turning to article 3 of the French Constitution, which states: 'all shall be equally admissible to civilian and military employment', al-Tahtāwī emphasizes that this leads to the spread of knowledge and the development of education. 'Much more than this, it urges each individual to do his best to learn in order to acquire a higher position; this is why their knowledge has developed and their civilization has not stagnated like those of China or India.'[43]

NATIONAL IDENTITY

Until that time, the bond uniting the members of the Arab-Islamic societies had been religion ('the Arab is superior to the non-Arab only in his piety') whether in Egypt, Iraq or the Hedjaz. But al-Tahtāwī, breaking new ground, pleads the case of a new link which he discovered in France and which he did his best to understand and adopt.

He gives to the term *milla*, meaning religious kinship, another meaning, that of belonging to a nation, a country of one's own. This is his definition: 'In political terms, the *milla* [community] is synonymous with nation: a number of people living in the same country, speaking the same language, having the same morals, the same habits and customs and in most cases governed by the same laws and the same rulers. People also speak of citizens, subjects, nations or children of the Fatherland.'[44]

This is not the end of the matter: we have here a definition of a nation which does not include religion. In fact, al-Tahtāwī draws a distinction between the national brotherhood which unites the children of a given Fatherland, whatever their religion and beliefs, and the religious bond which unites the faithful of the same beliefs within this same country. He regarded the national bond as general, while that of religion had a special character. Hence, the religious aspect was encompassed by the national and was an integral part of it. With regard to the relationship between these two bonds, al-Tahtāwī goes on to say:

> the fraternity of human beings is reflected in the equal rights of the citizens of a given country, the rights of human beings . . . Thus, all those belonging to a particular country must help one another to serve it, to improve the regime, in order to bring it dignity, greatness and wealth, because prosperity is achieved by organizing human relationships and by increasing the assets of the community, which must be shared equally between the citizens, all convinced of the benefits that accrue to them by belonging to the country.[45]

This is what al-Tahtāwī says about the special bond uniting the citizens of a particular country, all of whom share the same religion: 'There are also special rights, those of the Islamic fraternity, whereby Muslims establish between one another an absolute fraternity by discharging the obligations they have with regard to one another, for example that of returning a salutation or initiating it, that of teaching the precepts of the *charia*, and so on'.

As regards the relationship between these two bonds – the special bond which has a limited although important scope, and the national, general bond, which encompasses everything of concern to the country – al-Tahtāwī writes as follows: 'All the obligations of the believer towards his brother believers are incorporated in those of the citizens because they are united by the national fraternity as well as by the religious fraternity.'[46]

The educator

Although in many respects al-Tahtāwī must be considered as a precursor of the Arab renaissance, he can also be regarded as a remarkable educator, not because he was the master of a particular disciple or group, but because he was the master of an entire nation. He contributed to the training of several generations. He developed the idea of education, making it a synonym for renaissance and civilization.

He was also an educator in the technical and vocational sense, because he taught in many establishments, particularly those which trained teachers.

He also created institutions and conceived projects and schemes in education and teaching.

During his eight years of study at Al-Azhar, he gave daily instruction to Hussein Bek, the son of Tabbouz Ali, to supplement his income; he also taught at the school set up by Muhammad Lad Oghli. It seems that during the two years before he graduated, he even taught the *hadith*, logic, oratory, rhetoric, metaphor and prose composition at Al-Azhar, amongst other things.[47] It was here that his initial talents began to show themselves: his teaching abilities and his charisma – students crowded to hear him – and his ability to clarify his ideas using a number of methods so that all, whether young or old, could understand without difficulty. However, he was also capable, when he wished, of handling the most abstruse concepts, to present both sides of the argument and to reduce applications to their theoretical basis. Then only the most able minds could follow him in his lectures.[48]

When the School of Medicine at Abou Zaabal opened its doors (it was inaugurated by Kalout Bek in the year 1242 A.H., *c.* 1827), no students with knowledge of foreign languages could be found, so the teaching had to be given in Arabic. Since the teachers did not know Arabic, some way had to be found of translating the courses into that language: therefore translator-interpreters were appointed to do this job under the direction of Yuhanna Anhouri, a Syrian. The

latter tested Rifā'a when he returned from his mission, and reported that he was suitable for the task.[49]

At the same time, Rifā'a taught translation to some twenty students of the French school connected with the School of Medicine, which allowed the medical students at the same time to learn French so that they could read books published in Europe.

His work at the school of medicine was apparently not limited to translation because, according to Muhammad Ali al-Baqli Pasha, he also taught a number of other subjects.[50]

When the School of Languages was established in 1835, with the task of training translators for the different government departments, Rifā'a was appointed as both technical and administrative director. Thus, he supervised the revision and correction of his students' translations into Arabic and gave courses on Muslim and Western literature and law. Each year, he presided over the primary school examining bodies in the different regions so that the best students could be admitted to the preparatory school. In his biography of Rifā'a, Ali Moubarak writes:

> At the School of Languages, he had his own peculiar way of teaching, of choosing the books to have his students translate and particularly of writing his own: he had no precise timetable and he sometimes had to give his lectures in the evening or the very early morning, standing for three or four hours at a time to explain the subtleties of language and the art of administration, the law of Islam and that of the West. Furthermore, some of his books were never published. In his teaching of literature, he did his best to ensure that all his students excelled in their compositions, both prose and verse. This did not prevent him from personally translating and writing. It was inconceivable that any examining board should not include him.[51]

When Abbas I closed the School of Languages and wished to exile al-Tahtāwī, he appointed him director of a primary school in Khartoum in the Sudan, claiming that 'the children and the population of this country had to be dragged out of the purgatory of ignorance and given the benefit of science and understanding.'[52]

However, the situation was difficult and there were many obstacles in his way. It was only after two years that the School Board wrote to him asking for a review of the situation. Al-Tahtāwī described the situation as so desperate that it was decided to close the school.[53]

Recalled to Egypt under the reign of Saïd, al-Tahtāwī was appointed to the army staff college in 1852. He resumed the teaching life he loved, one which satisfied his hopes and objectives. He wanted the school to teach ancient languages in order to become a centre of culture and original thought for Egypt. Apart from Arabic, students could study an oriental language – Persian or Turkish – and a European language – English, French or German. He quickly set up an accounts department and a translation department of which he took control. He was one of the pioneers in translating textbooks on mathematics and engineering into Arabic.[54]

In the hope of obtaining Saïd's support for their educational ambitions, al-Tahtāwī and Ibrahim Adham Pasha submitted a plan to the Khedive for Egyptian education entitled 'the nation's schools' – which remained a dead letter. This plan clearly shows the hand of al-Tahtāwī and it can be regarded as exactly reflecting the approach to education at that time. The following points give an outline.[55]

- In order to link Egypt to Western civilization and to firmly consolidate this link, this country's education system, focussed on Al-Azhar and the Koranic schools, must be recast. The education provided in these establishments needs reform since it does not provide 'the knowledge leading to prosperity which is found in foreign countries, such as science, the humanities, arithmetic and geometry, geography, history, Arabic, Turkish, Persian, together with other disciplines ignorance of which should today be regarded as a failing'.
- Education is one of the essential functions that should be provided by the government 'whose role resembles that of a father . . . and helping in this is more than an individual duty.' Indeed, when the parents are sufficiently cultivated to educate their children, they do not necessarily know the best ways of doing so; as far as the poor are concerned, it is their very poverty which hinders their efforts at education.
- The end product of the education provided in the state schools, as proposed in the plan, is not only to train future civil servants, but also to 'allow individuals to earn their living in the best possible way', whether in agriculture, industry, trade or the various government departments for those who select this approach. The acquisition of basic knowledge helps young people to do their job well by developing their mind and giving them access to specialist books.
- This basic public education should provide a foundation for building higher education, aimed at filling the gaps in the education system under Muhammad-Ali, particularly the weakness of primary education, which had been neglected compared with higher or private education.
- If the state schools set up in this way, initially on an experimental basis, are successful, the government would generalize them to all the Egyptian provinces and cities 'so as to provide the country with public education worthy of the name. . . . Egypt would thus adopt the same approach to education as other countries and could then rank with the other major advanced civilized countries'.
- The Egyptian schools financed by those who control them or by the *waqfs*, and specializing in studies of the Koran and calligraphy, should be placed under the direction of the educational directorate which the plan proposes should be created – represented by the inspector of schools and his team – so that they may all be reformed in accordance with the ideas of the plan and gradually standardized.

When Khedive Ismaïl came to power, he re-established the School Board and appointed Rifā'a to its committee with responsibility for investigating the needs for new schools. At the end of his mission, al-Tahtāwī opened the schools in question. He was also appointed a member of the committee set up to examine

the plan of Ali Moubarak relating to the organization of Egyptian schools, known as the 'Rajab 1284 A.H.' project (*c.* 1868), a mission which successfully achieved its objective. Moubarak had decided it was necessary to set up a standing committee of the School Board with responsibility for supervising schools and inspecting their operation, notably by studying the reports and proposals of the inspectors; he made Rifā'a president of the Council of Provincial Schools which concentrated on the situation of state schools and their cohesion, as desired by the Khedive. Rifā'a was asked to come to work each day at the Board, where he took part in certain committees concerned with opening schools; he supervised the teaching of Arabic, selecting the teachers, getting them to adopt the most modern methods and deciding on which textbooks should be compulsory in each school; he also presided over many examination boards in both foreign and Egyptian schools. The last examination organized in this way under his auspices took place at the Assiout school in 1288 A.H.(*c.* 1871).[56]

The concept of education

It is no exaggeration to say that the concept proposed by al-Tahtāwī is comprehensive: it encompasses the scientific aspects of education, its fundamentals and its multiple dimensions. We can say, like him, that it was 'a scientific leap in our educational thinking in the middle of the nineteenth century'.

However, it would be wrong to say that he himself was responsible for the concept he proposed, particularly as he often began with the formula 'some have defined education as . . .'.

In his view, education had an integral and global character: it must encompass the spiritual and the temporal aspects, the material and the moral, the mind and the body; in this connection he said: 'The sense organs of newborn babies [must be] developed, from birth to adulthood, and their minds developed by religious and practical knowledge.'[57]

Let us dwell on this point: his conception of education is global not only as regards its content but also in its duration, since education is to begin at birth and continue to adulthood. It does not begin when the child starts school, but at the beginning of life, and does not terminate at adulthood but continues indefinitely.

Within this concept he assigns three functions to the education of children (which he calls 'nourishment'): (a) bodily education, which consists in giving the child's organism everything it needs, through suckling; (b) moral education, which consists in teaching children to behave well and inculcating good habits; (c) intellectual education, which consists in providing them with a corpus of knowledge, truths and information.

Al-Tahtāwī believed that although the education of children at first sight appears easy, requiring only experience, it was in fact a very important process calling for 'the greatest possible care, respecting certain principles and written

rules'. Moreover, it was indispensable that those who undertook the task of education should like children.

Education should not only be provided for boys because it was 'the way of training human beings with no distinction between the sexes'.

Al-Tahtāwī considered that education was an art, but an art based upon 'well-defined principles'.

However important education is, it cannot achieve miracles since it is limited by human nature. Intelligence, for example, is innate; it is not created by education but developed and enhanced. The degree of intelligence varies from person to person: 'while it is possible to ensure equal opportunity in education, this does not mean that a teacher can distribute intelligence evenly between his students.'[58]

Education is not an individual act which benefits only the student. It is a social process which, if properly executed, has the result of advancing the human community constituting society. In this connection, al-Tahtāwī states:

> good education means educating the social corpus and hence the entire nation. Only a country which discharges this obligation to its children and prepares them to best serve their country can be regarded as happy and worthy of praise. By ensuring that everybody has a good education, it opens the way to achieving this happiness. It need not hold back from forming citizens capable of ensuring the happiness of the country, citizens possessing all the required qualities, unlike the bad education widespread in certain countries where the corruption of morals leads people towards oblivion by encouraging egotism, the passions, the contravention of law and permissiveness.[59]

The repetition of this declaration in the books of al-Tahtāwī is a measure of the strength of his faith in education and his feeling of its decisive importance, which even leads him to say that 'it is the foundation of children's value' to their country. This value is not only concerned with behaviour or morals, but encompasses the quantitative and qualitative aspects of 'human civilization' because in 'any country where education moves forward to satisfy its needs, civilization itself also moves forward'.

Here, al-Tahtāwī emphasizes above all the need to pay more attention to educating 'the children of princes, the great and the rich', which at first sight may suggest that he had an aristocratic penchant in education. This was not so: he simply knew that these are the holders of power and that they must therefore be educated in morality and the love of equality. Is it not said that a fish starts to decay at the head? Hence the members of this elite should be turned into models; it is a question – he stresses – 'of getting them accustomed at the earliest possible age to rejecting arrogance, self-satisfaction and vanity, and of asking them to treat their fellow men with gentleness, decency and kindness so that no-one, whether equal or inferior, can complain of their acts and gestures.'[60]

This does not mean that education should be provided only for one category: al-Tahtāwī talks of the 'need to generalize education'[61] and states: 'The education of all the country's children, girls and boys, is one of the most pressing obligations'. He loved to say that people took time to tame domestic animals, so

why skould they not become involved in educating human beings who were the pillars of the nation?

Al-Tahtāwī speaks a great deal of the example of Ancient Greece where education led to the emergence of a civilization which has continued to illuminate humanity with its thought and creativity.

EQUALITY IN EDUCATION

In his writings, al-Tahtāwī makes a point of saying 'boys and girls', thus emphasizing that he wanted education to benefit all citizens without discrimination, contrary to the centuries-old practice. As an example, he not only quoted Ancient Greece, but also the contemporary European nations who were trying to ensure that girls and boys had equality of educational opportunity, in accordance with the idea of social justice already mentioned.[62]

He devotes an entire chapter to this argument entitled 'On the Participation of Girls in Education, Teaching and the Acquisition of Knowledge'. Trying to convince his fellow men, he declares: 'It is essential to give an education to girls as well as to boys in order to ensure the harmony of households'. Thus girls should be taught reading, writing and arithmetic, amongst other things. To convince the girls themselves, he emphasizes that 'education gives them a say in matters of the household, wins them the esteem of their husband and elevates them above the foolishness and frivolity that result from frequenting other, equally ignorant women.'[63]

Astonishingly progressive, al-Tahtāwī believed that education not only served to improve the behaviour of women with one another or with their husband, but that it had another function: to give them access to the world of productive employment. A woman who works escapes the idleness which corrupts both action and speech. This is why the education of women was indispensable:

> To enable women, if necessary and within their capacities, to accomplish the same tasks and discharge the same activities as men. . . . Work preserves a woman from bad habits and returns her to the path of virtue. Idleness in men is to be criticized, but it is much worse in women. An inactive woman passes her time in gossiping about and criticizing her neighbours, what they eat and what they drink, the way they dress and furnish their house, comparing her condition with theirs, and so on.[64]

Criticizing the opponents of the education of women who, to justify their hostility, invoked tradition, al-Tahtāwī asked how the Prophet could have been against teaching women to read and write when certain of his wives were educated – for example Hafsa, daughter of Omar, and Aïcha, daughter of Abou Bakr; indeed, like many other women through the ages. As regards the harmful consequences some saw resulting from the education of women, al-Tahtāwī pointed out that history contained no examples of virtuous women who had gone wrong because they were educated, while there were many examples of men whom

knowledge had diverted from the straight and narrow path: should therefore men be deprived of education? Of course not.

The problem was therefore not one of 'educational logic' or 'religion': it was a social problem, a simple 'habit' due to excessive concern for protecting girls' reputations. The reverse attitude would have the happiest result: if fathers taught their daughters, from childhood, to read and count and imparted certain practical knowledge that women needed in life, such as dressmaking and embroidery, together with high moral principles, al-Tahtāwī considered that once married, their life as a wife and that of their husband would be entirely successful and happy: 'No-one doubts that a woman of irreproachable morals who knows how to read and write, and possesses useful knowledge, has the best of all qualities, that to an educated man are even more desirable than beauty: in a woman, a good education supplements beauty but beauty in no way supplements a good education.'[65]

The education of a woman has effects not only on her husband but also – and this is the most important aspect – on her children, since the mother is a model. In most cases, a daughter who sees her mother behave in an irreproachable manner and able to read and write will want to imitate her, and the same applies in the contrary case. The experience of many countries shows that the beneficial effects of educating girls far exceed any drawbacks, and even that the latter are completely absent.

Finally, al-Tahtāwī tackles the question of the education of women from the religious standpoint: he found that nothing was against it, and that young people of both sexes should comply with the *hadiths* which praise learning and education, and should undertake study in order to reap the harvest of knowledge.[66]

Useful science

For centuries before al-Tahtāwī, the concept of knowledge was enclosed in a narrow frame, restricted to cultural practices and religious rites; it was a fixed system with no future. Al-Tahtāwī opened new horizons by stating that the only limits on science were those of human understanding and that it encompassed both the spiritual and the temporal.

This in itself was not new, but he based himself on religious texts: when minds are open, when the horizon is broad, when culture is capable of diversifying and enriching itself, then, helped by faith, one sees a convergence appearing between religious requirements and reason, the good of the individual and that of the country.

Therefore the condition that science must meet is utility. However, since it is not a matter of specific utility, this must be understood as applying equally to the temporal and the spiritual. This is the interpretation of al-Tahtāwī, for whom knowledge is that which gives access to the supreme qualities, the virtues of Muslim principles and practice; its fruits are gathered not only in this world but in the hereafter. It encourages the doing of good and prohibits the doing of evil.

Knowledge conceived in this way encompasses the theoretical and practical sciences, in other words, knowledge of the truth and its pursuit in terms of action. All useful, rational and traditional knowledge, both theoretical and practical, thus forms part of what the Prophet qualifies as 'useful science'.[67]

Al-Tahtāwī says elsewhere: 'Know that all the sciences are noble and that each is a source of virtue'. Since no individual can understand all the sciences, it is essential to set oneself priorities. Al-Tahtāwī does this: in the first rank he places the sciences of the *charia*, because 'if they are unknown, they are lost'.[68]

Two important points deserve emphasis:

First, it was wrong for those who study these sciences not to exercise a profession but to live by charity, as was normal practice. Al-Tahtāwī recalled the advice given by Cha'rāni (who died in 1565) to those studying these sciences: 'They should not abandon the work by which they earn their living; in doing so they would turn religion into a means of subsistence, and would be at the mercy of people's charity. The mind of whoever earns his living in this way is clouded, while a living legitimately earned helps in the understanding of the subtleties of science'.

Al-Tahtāwī stresses this point: 'In sum, depending on charity and the generosity of others hardens the heart, clouds understanding and goes against piety. Those who are versed in the *charia* should be irreproachable models. If they have legitimate work, they are above all suspicion'.

Second, it is difficult to understand the sciences of the *charia* unless one is familiar with a number of related disciplines, beginning with the Arabic language and mathematics. In a magisterial demonstration, al-Tahtāwī explains how mathematics can help understand several questions of the *charia*.'[69]

Al-Tahtāwī goes even further by linking the sciences of the *charia* to the arts and crafts: 'without them, there are no sciences of the *charia*, without them duty is not accomplished; it is on them that the proper organization of kingdoms depends, and it is through them that nations and individuals prosper. They form part of the duties of satisfaction.'[70] As an example of these arts and crafts, al-Tahtāwī mentions calligraphy, which is used to write down the sciences and thus offers the human being the opportunity to learn, to teach and to read.

Al-Tahtāwī then lays emphasis on the other arts and crafts which confer glory and power, prosperity and wealth on nations: 'An action has value only if it is financed legally, and money is legitimate only if it is produced by the exercise of work. To ensure a decent life, nothing can match money legitimately earned and spent with good intention. . . . Any art or craft which serves this end is essential and praiseworthy from the standpoint of divine law. Nothing opposes their inclusion in what the Prophet call "useful science", embracing the teaching of knowledge – in other words, the sciences, arts, crafts and machines, . . . as well as thought, creation, writing, compilation and education, amongst other things. This means relying on the creative work of knowledge that is useful to the community, the country and the entire human species.'[71]

Al-Tahtāwī demonstrates logic and an open mind when he uses the results of knowledge – learned, taught and written – as the criterion of utility. To please God, it is sufficient that they are useful to the human species. This also applies to whoever, in his work, embarks on organization, because he shows the way to goodness. Showing the way to goodness is equivalent to doing good: both actions conform with the *hadīth* which states: 'Whoever follows a straight way will be rewarded, as will those who follow in that way up to the day of judgement'. It follows that whoever masters a science, an art or a craft, should do his best to perfect its theoretical and practical basis through thought and imagination.

Most authors writing about al-Tahtāwī have emphasized his role in renovating Arab culture and showed him as a robust bridge over which Western culture has reached the Arab mind.

This is certainly true. However, there is something which many have not noted: in most of his writings, al-Tahtāwī went out of his way to attach his opinions and thoughts to Islam as if he wanted to say: 'All this has been given to us already'. In order to bring out the religious need for learning and education, he emphasizes that all Muslims, if they wish to follow divine instructions, must understand the purpose of these instructions. Such knowledge can only be acquired through in-depth study; a quick hearing or brief glance are not enough: 'Every adult is required to know what is legitimate and illegitimate and to act accordingly to obtain happiness on earth and in the hereafter, because knowledge and action go together.'[72]

'It is only possible', continues al-Tahtāwī, 'to comply with God's instructions by understanding their content and such knowledge is only acquired through effort. This search must be thorough and cover the general and the particular, related and supplementary issues. To devote oneself to this is the highest priority.'[73]

With regard to the modern sciences, which al-Tahtāwī stresses so often in his writings as being essential to raising up the nation, there must be no sentiment of soliciting these from the West. It is true that in our time, it is the West which is gathering the fruits of these sciences and prospering as a result. But this is merely one stage, a few steps after many others taken by our ancestors and Muslim pioneers: 'These sciences which today seem foreign are in fact Islamic sciences which the Westerners have taken from Arabic books and translated into their own languages; these books are today still part of the treasures of the princes of Islam. They are still consulted and studied by European scientists in the modern era.'[74]

Al-Tahtāwī contradicts the widespread opinion according to which the scholars of al-Azhar knew nothing of modern science until the campaign of Bonaparte, which put an end to a period of obscurity and triggered the renaissance. According to him, it was sufficient to read the works of Ahmed al-Damanhouri, Sheik of al-Azhar, amongst others, to perceive that he was also well

versed in a number of profane sciences. He even published a number of books on these subjects the teaching of which was regarded as important for al-Azhar.

In this connection al-Damanhouri states that he had learnt from his own master, Sheik Ali Al-Za'tari, who was particularly erudite, arithmetic, algebra and calculation applied to the religious obligations, that he had read the relevant works of Ibn al-Hazim, the treatise of Yasmini on algebra and equations, the calculation of the breadth of Egypt by Sheik Ladiqui, declinations and meridians, let alone many other specific works including those of Sheik Sultan al-Mazāhī on arithmetic, the astronomy of Al-Jaghnīmī and topography.

In stating what he knows of these sciences, al-Tahtāwī refers to what he learned without the support of his masters:[75] 'I read books on subjects as diverse as arithmetic, dowsing, the treatment of haemorrhoids, anatomy, and so on'.

He speaks of the scientific culture of his masters Othman Al-Wardānī al-Falakī and Hassan Al-'Attar. He found hand-written notes by the latter in scientific books: 'He constantly read books translated into Arabic . . . and had a passion for all human knowledge . . . He also wrote himself on medicine and other subjects'.

Al-Tahtāwī therefore invited the teachers of al-Azhar to involve themselves with these sciences as much as possible, especially as their study had become easier under the reigns of Muhammad-Ali and Ismaïl.[76]

The wider possibilities for learning and teaching

Learning and teaching should be underpinned by methods and principles, and it was important that access to them should be simple.

Learning was not only a matter of improving one's mind, heart and body through what was learned, but also of being useful to others. Al-Tahtāwī wanted every learner also to be a teacher: 'Once his education is over, he should begin to write, so that all may discover the truths of the arts, the subtleties of science, the details of crafts, while attempting to be as clear as possible.'[77] 'In doing so, special emphasis should be placed on the indispensable and the unusual'. Whoever studies science should go straight to the fundamentals, in other words starting with the basic principles of the science he wishes to understand.

Clarity is also a basic principle. All too often, an esoteric and blinkered approach reflect poor understanding, wrong intentions and a tendency to deceive others about how much one knows.

Books are 'reservoirs of knowledge' and their pages contain 'the fruits of intelligence'. Thus al-Tahtāwī regards them as 'masters, guides, and advisers who should be consulted on all subjects'.[78]

Despite man's natural desire to understand and his aspiration to discover the unknown, it was nevertheless necessary constantly to stimulate this thirst for knowledge by emulation. The student who absolutely wishes to outstrip his fellow students is constantly urged to broaden his knowledge. When such competi-

tion is general, knowledge increases steadily and the nation acquires unlimited potential to light the fires of its renaissance.[79]

As to the ways and means of education, al-Tahtāwī considers that the first of these, in all senses of the word, is undoubtedly the family – which is determinant both in good and in evil. It is from the family that stem the basic concepts, habits and modes of behaviour by which the individual interacts with others and with the institutions of society.

Fascinated by what he saw in Europe, al-Tahtāwī nevertheless points out that the young child 'should be brought up at home with his parents: this was a suitable education for girls, because a woman who was not brought up by her mother when she was small lacks motivation to bring up her own children.'[80]. In saying this, he expresses what he sees as the correct point of view, which did not correspond to what he had seen in Europe. Without openly criticizing European practices, he shows his preference for the oriental model of education: 'In Europe, mothers are little involved in the education of their children which they entrust to governesses and wet nurses, although laying down certain rules and taking certain precautions'.

In the last few years, we have seen a return to the traditional form of education, with the mother as the leading educator and the family home as where education essentially takes place. Indeed, research has shown the dangers in having young children educated by persons other than the mother and elsewhere than in the family home.

Education is important and necessary but its 'value' and its 'necessity' differ according to level. Amongst these levels, there is that which al-Tahtāwī calls 'public education' (and which today we call 'basic education') where all children receive the same instruction with no discrimination; on this subject al-Tahtāwī says: 'Primary education is the right of all, it should be general and everyone – rich and poor, boys and girls – should benefit from it. It encompasses reading and writing acquired by learning the Holy Koran, arithmetic and grammar.'[81]

This primary education benefits the whole nation and all the people, particularly those who work at a craft or industry. Indeed, it enables them the better to master their work by not depending only on oral teaching, but by having the capability of referring to written notes. Young people and apprentices who so benefit are able to consult specialist books and thus embark on self-education and correct mistakes. In fact, this type of education raises the quality of arts and crafts as generation succeeds generation.[82]

Al-Tahtāwī ranks primary education so highly that he compares it with bread and air, which recalls the celebrated formula of Tāhā Hussein comparing education to water and air.

Secondary education is not as important and necessary as primary education, but al-Tahtāwī recommends that the state should facilitate access to it without distinction, because it is in the interest of the state to make this level of education attractive.

To be more precise, he declares that primary education must be generalized and secondary education developed: 'Just as basic education and public instruction must be generalized so that all children – those of the poor as well as those of the rich – have access to it, it is also important to develop secondary education and to give access to it to all children able to follow it and wishing to benefit from it.'[83]

As far as higher education is concerned, al-Tahtāwī reserves it for the 'political elite and the rulers. It must therefore be provided sparingly and access to it limited'. In this area, he was unable to avoid the weight of tradition, to the extent of stating that this education was intended for 'those who have the means' – he who lived through the times of Muhammad-Ali when many people of modest origins were able to go on to higher education, succeeded brilliantly and were a force for progress in the country.

Al-Tahtāwī draws attention to the question of the 'vocation' which comes up when those who complete their primary and secondary education enter the working world: 'If they show a leaning for particular crafts that correspond to their abilities, their family should allow them to embrace these crafts'. On the other hand, if they adopt crafts which they believe are suitable but which their family are convinced are unsuitable, they must be diverted from them.

The hardest thing for graduates is to put in a great deal of effort and then not to find work relevant to their training whereby they can earn a living. They are prey to despair. Al-Tahtāwī believes that a society is indeed unfortunate if, seeing its children in this predicament, it does not take corrective action as quickly as possible.

There have been so many studies of the personality, works and thought of al-Tahtāwī that it may appear superfluous to write more about him. This is not so. To take the present study as an example: it has allowed us to bring out a number of ideas each of which deserves separate investigation. This demonstrates the intellectual richness of a man like al-Tahtāwī: researchers are still far from plumbing the depths of all his works.

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75. Ibid., p. 535.
76. Ibıd., p. 536.
77. Ibıd., p. 290.
78. Al-Tahtāwī, Al-Murchıd al-amīn . . ., op. cit., p. 400.
79. Ibid., p. 413.
80. Ibid., p. 295.
81. Ibıd., p. 387.
82. Ibid., p. 388.
83. Ibıd., p. 389.

LEO TOLSTOY[1]

(1828–1910)

Semion Filippovitch Yegorov

For over a century, Leo Tolstoy has been one of the most famous and most widely read authors in the whole world. His name is always among the most popular in UNESCO's *Index Translationum*. Tolstoy, as Lenin wrote in 1910, 'succeeded in raising so many great problems and succeeded in rising to such heights of artistic power that his works rank among the greatest in world literature'.[2]

The fame of Tolstoy the novelist has to some extent obscured his writings on education, which were based on first-hand experience. Tolstoy's ideas on education caused considerable controversy, which continues to rage to this day. Some of his contemporaries, in their capacity as official educators, even cast doubt on his competence in educational matters, considering the work done in the school he opened little more than the amusement of an idle Russian aristocrat. However, the history of education in recent times gives a different view. Just as Tolstoy's literary creations marked a step forward in the cultural development of mankind, so his educational doctrine made a unique contribution to teaching. Despite the views of the literary world, Tolstoy himself thought more highly of his educational than of his literary works, and he stressed their importance time and time again. To decide who is correct – the writer himself or his commentators – we must examine the place occupied by education and its problems in Tolstoy's life and activities, the new approaches he brought to this field and the influence of his views on the subsequent development of education and educational thinking.

The path to education

Leo Tolstoy strove from an early age to play a practical part in the education of the people. The idea behind his first book, *The Four Periods of Development*, is deeply symbolic. His intention was to describe in it the process by which the

human character is formed, from very earliest childhood, when the life of the spirit first begins to stir, to youth, when it has adopted its final shape.

Between 1852 and 1857, a series of autobiographical stories appeared, entitled 'Childhood', 'Boyhood' and 'Youth', in which the spiritual universe of the child, the adolescent and the young person are studied, together with their feelings, the process of learning in which they are engaged and their moral development. These works also examine development induced by goal-oriented instruction. Through all the stories there runs the idea of the need for a respectful attitude towards the child's personality. This idea became the cornerstone of Tolstoy's educational work.

It cannot be said that the fourth and final story, 'Young Manhood', remained unwritten, since it is covered in other works by the young Tolstoy, for example in the story of 'The Cossacks' and in 'A Landlord's Morning'. The hero of this story, which is also to a large extent autobiographical, leaves university before completing his undergraduate course. He feels that his views of the world and of the meaning of life are quite clear and he has already decided on the course his life is to take. He has arrived at the conviction that the most important thing in life is to do good to those among whom one's lot has been cast. Personal happiness is inseparable from the well-being of others. So long as the majority of the nation, the peasants, are sunk in poverty and ignorance, social well-being and, consequently, one's own personal well-being, is impossible.

> To be able to influence this simple, impressionable, unspoiled class of people, to save them from poverty, to give them some satisfaction and hand on to them the education which I, by good fortune, enjoy, to remedy faults born of ignorance and superstition, to develop their moral qualities and to make them love what is good – what a magnificent, what a happy future![3]

Like the hero of his story, Tolstoy, at the age of 21, having opened a school on his ancestral estate at Yasnaya Polyana, made an attempt to begin teaching peasant children. This first attempt did not endure long because schoolteaching became a burden to him. This may have been because he realized he lacked professional knowledge or it may have been brought on by his desire to move on to new fields of activity. From the spring of 1851, Tolstoy served in the army, first in the Caucasus and then as one of the defenders of Sebastopol. Soon after the end of the Crimean War (1853-56), he retired from the army and returned to Yasnaya Polyana where he once more took up teaching, this time, with a large number of peasant children. It is interesting that in justification of this, which was for him a new activity, he wrote to the poet Afanasy Fet: 'It is not we who need to study, but we need to teach Marfutka and Taraska [peasant children] at least some of what we know.'[4]

The observations of Tolstoy the writer on the behaviour of children, adolescents and young people and the experiences in school of Tolstoy the teacher suggested to him that teaching was no simple or easy matter and that successful teaching must be based on professional knowledge. He turned to the specialist

literature, made contact with educational workers and began to take an interest in the experience of other countries. In 1857, Tolstoy made his first journey to Western Europe, visiting Germany, France and Switzerland. Coming into direct contact with European culture, he also studied the educational practice of schools in those countries and on his return to Russia increased the scale of his educational activity. This was particularly intense in the years 1859 to 1862. In Tolstoy's own words, this was the period of his 'three-year passion for this business'.

The matter of education was at that time attracting the attention not just of Tolstoy but of all the democratically minded intelligentsia of Russia, where educational reform was being actively prepared. Ministerial plans were hotly debated by a public which was mistrustful of the educational policy of the Tsar's government. Tolstoy, in particular, felt that the civil servants would not be able to make education respond to the interests of the whole nation: 'For national education to work, it must be handed over to an association.'[5] He took practical steps in this direction and planned the organization of an association whose aim would be 'to educate the people; to publish a teaching journal; to set up schools where there are none and where the need for them is felt; to decide on the content of education; to train teachers; to provide schools with equipment; to contribute to the democratic management of education, etc.' All his efforts to obtain permission to establish a public body of this kind were in vain. This did not stop Tolstoy, however. 'I shall put everything I can and all my energies into this programme. . . . Whether they let me or not, and although I am alone, I shall still set up a secret association for the education of the people.'[6]

In 1859, he opened a school for peasant children and, in 1860, undertook a second European journey, visiting Germany, France, Italy, Belgium and England. He attended a lecture by Dickens on education, had several talks with Proudhon, met the revolutionary historian and educationist Lelewel, and discussed important matters of social development with the Russian revolutionary, writer and philosopher Herzen, who had emigrated to England from Tsarist Russia. In looking at the experience of European countries, Tolstoy was seeking ways of tackling the problems of national education in Russia.

In the 1870s, he was working on the compilation of school textbooks. Tolstoy continued his educational work right up to the end of his life, even during his most intense periods of literary creation. As he did so, his views on the education of the people took shape and the basic principles of his concept of education crystallized.

The ideals of humanistic education

Leo Tolstoy sometimes expressed his views in a form which made it possible to interpret them in a variety of ways. His opponents took advantage of this, claiming, for example, that what the writer had said about a child's innocence was paedocentrism, and that allowing children to decide for themselves whether to

attend lessons or not was anarchy. However, there can be no doubt about what Tolstoy really meant if what he said is set in the general context of his concept of education, the basis of which is that humanism, democracy and freedom in education must start with the people.

When Tolstoy appeared on the educational scene the foundations for the democratic enlightenment of Russia had been laid long ago by Mikhail Lomonosov, although its origins were to be found in world educational culture. In the mid-nineteenth century, however, the majority of the population of the country, the peasants, were still not only uneducated but illiterate. Tolstoy was deeply conscious of the chasm in the society of his time between the cultural achievements and education for the privileged classes and the educational deprivation of the majority of the population. In this tragic division, he saw the source of many social antagonisms and troubles. He felt that education should be available to everyone. If it were made available in equal measure to all sections of the population, it could eliminate despotism and violence, superstition and injustice. 'The most pressing need of the Russian people is for education.' In these few words Tolstoy summed up a central, and abiding, conviction. He spoke out as the uncompromising defender of the interests of the whole nation, and particularly of the peasants, in the field of education. In considering all the other aspects of education, he was guided by the principle of the needs of the people, using it as a yardstick by which to judge the achievements or shortcomings of education in school, the quality of education, the usefulness of scientific discoveries, and so on. It was Tolstoy's conviction that science should unite people in the interests of the whole of society and of its material and spiritual welfare.

Tolstoy's educational activity coincided with industrial development in Russia, which was particularly rapid after the abolition of serfdom in 1861. In his view, capitalist development was subordinating scientific and technical knowledge to its own aims, taking no account of the common good and only creating new social antagonisms. Tolstoy began to focus his critical writings on those scientific and technical discoveries and their practical applications which were being used solely in the interest of the ruling class or of individual sections of society.

> Not only does this knowledge not satisfy the main criterion for the essence of science, which is to serve the good of the people, but it pursues a diametrically opposed and quite deliberate aim, namely to keep the majority of people in thrall to the minority, resorting to all kinds of sophistry, misinterpretation, deception and cheating to do so.[7]

To counter this, he called for the democratization and humanization of science and education. Scientific and technical achievements represented genuine progress only when they were harnessed to serve the whole of society and the whole of the nation.

Freedom in school and in education was an idea that occupied an important place in Tolstoy's conception of education. He called freedom 'the one and only criterion of education'. As a result, he was compared with Jean-Jacques

Rousseau and to the much later representatives of the 'Free Education' and the 'New Education' movements, etc. Indeed, like Rousseau, Tolstoy said that a child is by nature a perfect and innocent creature whose free development should not be hindered. However, freedom in education as Tolstoy understood it had very little in common with the doctrine of Rousseau and less still with the paedocentric approach to education which made an absolute of the idea of freedom and took it to absurd lengths. (Its most enthusiastic devotees in Russia, for example, demanded that the child should be free to choose its own parents.)

According to Tolstoy's doctrine, the development of children was a process by which their qualities developed spontaneously and in which the influence of the teacher had to be minimal, like that of a guide, who was not entitled to intervene 'by force' in the formation of the views of those in his/her charge. Nevertheless, Tolstoy frequently departed from theory in his educational practice. One has only to turn to the reminiscences of one of his sons, Ilya Levovich Tolstoy, who wrote: 'We grew up surrounded on all sides by a stone wall of English women, governesses and teachers, and in these circumstances, it was easy for our parents to follow every step we took and to direct our lives in their way, all the more so because they themselves had identical views on our education.'[8]

There are quite a few such contradictions in Tolstoy's educational views and in his work as a whole, but this in no way diminishes their value from the point of view of mankind and the world at large. 'The contradictions in Tolstoy's views', wrote Lenin in 1910, 'are not contradictions inherent in his personal views alone, but are a reflection of the extremely complex, contradictory conditions, social influences and historical traditions which determined the psychology of various classes and various sections of Russian society.'[9] In Tolstoy's view, freedom in education was a gnoseological and moral principle which had to be put into practice; it was the antithesis of authoritarian teaching, and essential for a humane attitude to the pupil and respect for his or her dignity as a human being. Freedom in education was a principle which stemmed from the internal laws of cognitive activity. Cognition could not be other than free. In the absence of that condition, activity, initiative, consistency, system and all the other tenets of traditional, classical education were of no use, lacking meaning and purpose. The more firmly education was based on that law, the more successful and fruitful it was. Knowledge which had been assimilated could not simply be transmitted and could certainly not be thrust on pupils if they did not want it. Pupils had to apply their own efforts and engage in independent cognitive activity. This they could do best of all by not being forced by a teacher but guided by their own free will.

A no less important aspect of the principle of freedom in education concerned its social organization. Tolstoy placed community activity in the field of national education in opposition to red tape and bureaucracy. His efforts were a reflection of a trend that grew in strength throughout the nineteenth century in Russia and one of those distinguishing traits was precisely Tolstoy's idea of freedom in education. It also involved the requirements that the people should be

allowed to establish schools for their children in accordance with the wishes of parents and the community, that is, schools where the people themselves would have sole responsibility for deciding on the content of the activities. As long as the powers-that-be continued to lay down the content and methods of education, it would make no contribution to the development of a genuine culture among the people. In this Tolstoy's views coincided absolutely with the stipulation made somewhat later by another outstanding Russian educationist, a contemporary of Tolstoy, Konstantin D. Ushinsky: 'No one familiar with the history of Russia would hesitate for a moment to hand the education of the people over to the people themselves.'[10]

Defending and developing the ideals of humanistic education, Tolstoy also pointed to the need for a scientific basis for educational work. Each science has a domain and research methods which belong to it alone. In the case of education, it is the child and the endless diversity of natural manifestations of individuality. Unlike psychology and the child sciences which emerged later, Tolstoy's view was that a study of the child was indissociable from the practical tasks of education. Here lay the main distinguishing feature of his methodological approach. The methods of studying children put forward and used by him were also substantially different from those of psychology.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, psychologists began to make more frequent use of experiment in their research. Their method was to pick out one of the psychological functions and obtain objective results regarding it. Tolstoy did not deny the importance for the teacher of awareness of the child's mental characteristics. He himself made use of experiments, comparing the effectiveness of various methods of teaching reading and writing. However, in his practical activity, a teacher is dealing not with one isolated function but with a personality in the process of formation – a pupil. What is needed is for the teacher and educator to have a holistic view of the pupil.

For this reason, the chief method for Tolstoy was that of many-sided analysis, covering sociological and psychological aspects and leading both to a logical conclusion and, no less valuable for the educator, to a general view expressed as an image. This is one of the outstanding features of Tolstoy's study of the child as the subject of education. Reading Tolstoy's educational writings, one has an almost physical perception of a living child, presented not in a frozen photographic pose but in the manifestation and development of its individual characteristics, the unfolding of its personality and in mental states which fluctuate in accordance with the many and varied influences to which he or she is subject.

Tolstoy's educational work demonstrated that a child thinks more in pictures, colours and sounds, and that, in the first stages of education, pictorial thinking takes precedence in cognitive activity over logical thought. For a child in the early stage of education, an image used by the teacher can convey a much greater volume of information than the expression of a logical conclusion. Pictorial thinking has its place in the subsequent stages of education and also in

research, since, unlike logical thinking, it reveals not one or even several sides of a phenomenon but a comprehensive view.

In tackling the question of the subject and methods of education, Tolstoy described his own understanding of many of its general concepts, such as literacy, education and civics, which make up the conceptual apparatus of the relatively independent form of scientific knowledge which is the science of education. In Tolstoy's view, literacy was the ability to read and write and education was knowledge of the surrounding world, including social relationships and the ties of reality:

> Literacy is the art of forming words from conventional signs and pronouncing them, and from those same signs of composing words and representing them. What then do literacy and education have in common? Literacy is an art while education is a knowledge of facts and their relationships.[11]

This led on to the logical conclusion that literacy was of significant value only if it served as a means of attaining education.

That the ideals of humanistic education and the principles of choice by the people, democracy and freedom in education did not, for Tolstoy, remain just a declaration or some kind of abstraction, is borne out by the methodological solutions put forward by him to the problems of education and by his practical activity as a teacher, an organizer of schools, the publisher of an educational journal and the author of textbooks for schools for the people.

Yasnaya Polyana: the school and the journal

In addition to the schools coming under the Ministry of Education, there were schools in Russia which owed their existence to community or individual initiative. Of these, the most widely known became the school at Yasnaya Polyana, opened by Tolstoy on his ancestral estate near Tula. At first, Tolstoy's intention of organizing a free school in his own home was met by disbelief and suspicion by the peasants. On the first day, only twenty-two children in all timidly crossed the doorstep of the school at Yasnaya Polyana. After five or six weeks, however, the number of pupils had increased more than three-fold. The education there was organized in a very different way from that at ordinary schools but, nevertheless, the number of pupils, boys and girls from 7 to 13, continued to grow.

Lessons began between 8 and 9 o'clock in the morning. At noon, there was a break for lunch and a rest. Lessons then continued another three to four hours. Every teacher gave five to six lessons every day. According to their age, readiness and progress, the children were divided into three groups: junior, middle and senior. Pupils did not have places strictly allotted to them. They sat where they liked. No homework was given. The commonest form of educational activity was not the lesson in the usual sense of the word but a free conversation with the pupils during which the children learned reading, writing and arithmetic, their

catechism, the rules of grammar, and facts adapted to their age about history, geography and nature study. They also learned to draw and sing.

The content of the education given, like its external organization, was not immutable but changed in accordance with the children's development, the capacities of the school and the teachers, and the wishes of the parents. Tolstoy himself taught mathematics, physics, history and other subjects to the senior group. Most frequently, he told stories in order to teach the fundamentals of science. The children were punished neither for their behaviour nor for poor progress. The requirement that the personality of pupils should be treated with respect presupposed that, without punishment or coercion on the part of the adults, they would move towards a recognition of the need to submit to the order on which success at school depended. 'Schoolchildren', said Tolstoy, 'are people, even though they are small. They are people with the same needs as ourselves, who think in the same way as we do. They all want to learn; that is why they go to school and that is why they will have no trouble in understanding that they must submit to certain conditions in order to learn.'[12]

Leo Tolstoy and the teachers at his school encouraged the pupils' independence, developed their creative abilities and succeeded in getting the children to assimilate knowledge consciously and actively. With this aim in view, they frequently set compositions, particularly on topics of the pupil's own choice which the children liked very much. In this, Tolstoy's school saw one way of cultivating a creative personality, able subsequently to establish new forms of social relationship worthy of a civilized person. What most distinguished the school at Yasnaya Polyana was its attitude to the knowledge, abilities and skills which the children picked up outside school. Not only was the educational importance of these not denied, as was the case in most other schools, but, on the contrary, they were considered a necessary prerequisite for success at school. In the surrounding world there are an untold number of sources of information, but children are far from always interpreting this information correctly. The task of the school is thus to raise the information picked up by the schoolchildren from their surroundings on to a conscious plane. (A similar principle was later adopted in the system of the American philosopher and educationist, John Dewey.)

The duties of a teacher at Yasnaya Polyana were much more complex than at a school with a strict timetable, coercive discipline, a range of set methods of encouragement and punishment, and a strictly limited volume of knowledge to be studied. Here, the teachers' moral and intellectual faculties were constantly being stretched. They were required at all times to take into consideration the situation and abilities of each of their charges. In fact, what is known as educational creativity was demanded of the teacher. But the results achieved at the school at Yasnaya Polyana were also different from those at other schools. As a former teacher at Yasnaya Polyana, Yevgeni Markov, said: 'We were able to observe the extraordinary progress of Tolstoy's pupils, among whom were some bright little boys who had been taken straight from harrowing or looking after the sheep and after just a few months were able to write quite literate compositions.'[13]

The educational activity and influence of Tolstoy were not confined within the walls of the school at Yasnaya Polyana. Established on his initiative and with his direct participation, no less than twenty people's schools were functioning in the Krapivensk region of Tula province. His experiments, which for those times were quite unusual, made him the object of public attention, at home and abroad, and made a contribution to the development of elementary education. Teachers from many Russian towns and from abroad came to Yasnaya Polyana, interested to see humanistic ideas applied in educational practice. Frequent visits, of course, interrupted the normal flow of the educational process, but Tolstoy, although he realized this, did not turn visitors away, since by talking to them he could verify the correctness of his ideas and understand their relationship to all the other known methods of education.

It was with this aim in mind that Leo Tolstoy began to publish an educational journal entitled *Yasnaya Polyana.* Among other things, it set out to describe: (a) new educational methods; (b) new principles of administration for people's education; (c) new ways of organizing the learning process; (d) experiments with out-of-school education involving the circulation of books among the people; (e) monographs describing schools which had come into being spontaneously, with an examination of their achievements and shortcomings; etc. Tolstoy saw the journal's most important task as studying spontaneous educational activity, throwing light on the underlying links in the process of education, a knowledge of which would be of inestimable value for education as a science and for the teacher as a practitioner. He sought a wide range of contributors to the journal, stipulating only that they must be teachers who looked on their work not only as a means of existence or even as a duty to children, but as a field of experiment to advance the science of education.[14]

Tolstoy himself published such seminal articles in the journal as 'People's Education', 'Methods of Teaching How to Read and Write', 'A Draft General Plan for the Organization of People's Schools', 'Who Should be Taught to Write and by Whom', and 'Progress and the Definition of Education'. In these, the defects of the old education system were expounded, ways of developing the creative powers of children were examined, and much else as well.

Tolstoy's educational activities were a success, and they brought him satisfaction, but they aroused the suspicion of the Tsarist authorities. Tolstoy was prosecuted, the line taken by the journal *Yasnaya polyana* was considered as 'subverting the fundamental tenets of religion and morality' and its twelfth issue, which came out in December 1863, was the last.

From that time, Leo Tolstoy began working on his epic *War and Peace*, but he continued to think over his educational experiments. He came to the conclusion that there was something in them which was lacking in the contemporary science of education. 'I still think a great deal about education and am preparing to write down everything I know about it and which nobody else knows – or with which no one else is in agreement.'[15] At the beginning of the 1870s, he reopened the school at Yasnaya Polyana and began once more to help with the

organization of schools in the whole district, striving 'to save the Pushkins, Ostrogradskys, Filaretofs and Lomonosovs who are teeming in every school from drowning'.[16] It was for them, the 'little mujiks', as he called the peasant children, that Tolstoy created *The Primer*, on which he worked with enthusiasm in 1871 and 1872, and *The New Primer*, for which, in 1875, he interrupted work on *Anna Karenina*.

'The Primer' and 'The New Primer'

Tolstoy ruminated over his project for a textbook for the very young, *The Primer*, for a long time. It had to be different from other textbooks. Its overall plan, content and logical structure were worked out over a prolonged period. He often spoke with excitement about his work, saying, 'What will come out of it I do not know, but I have put my whole heart into it.'[17] Tolstoy had great ambitions for *The Primer*, estimating that several generations of Russian children, from peasant children right up to those of the Tsar, would learn through it and receive their first impressions of poetry from it. He even said, 'Now I have written *The Primer*, I can die in peace.'[18]

The Primer of Count L.N. Tolstoy was published at the end of 1872 and it was indeed a landmark for schools and for education. To a significant extent it justified the hopes of its author, embodying as it did his humanistic educational principles. Yet many people felt that this concern with the problems of children's elementary education was unworthy of the talent of the great Russian writer who had begun to be known throughout the world. The innovatory nature of this new work on education was not immediately appreciated by his contemporaries. Tolstoy found neither understanding nor sympathy, even among those close to him, including his wife. He nevertheless remained convinced that it was elementary education that largely determined a child's subsequent intellectual and moral development and, possibly, the happiness or unhappiness of the individual's whole life.

Whether children would find pleasure in study, whether there would develop in them a disinterested love of learning and whether they would subsequently place spiritual values higher than material well-being, all to a great extent depended on the circumstances in which their first steps in the world of knowledge had been taken.

> 'When I go into a school', said Tolstoy, 'and see that crowd of thin, dirty, ragged children with their shining eyes and, so very often, angelic expressions, I am overcome by the kind of alarm and fear one would feel at the sight of people drowning. . . . What is drowning there is something precious above all else – precisely that spiritual awareness which is so patently obvious in those children.'[19]

The spiritual elements of which the younger generation must be the repository can scarcely be developed without school. This is its priority, more than teaching pupils a particular sum of knowledge. To tackle this task was what Tolstoy

strove to do from *The Primer* onwards, that is, from the moment the child started school.

The Primer of Count L.N. Tolstoy consisted of a set of teaching materials in four volumes: (a) the alphabet proper; (b) texts for elementary study; (c) Slavonic texts; and (d) material for learning arithmetic. In this series, the alphabet proper was treated as an elementary but necessary means of acquiring knowledge and moral ideas. In actual fact, it was a kind of encyclopedia for very small children which explained their immediate environment to them. It provided an explanation of the basic concepts of physics, chemistry, botany and zoology in the form of an artistic synopsis, describing the life of plants, the external senses of human beings and animals, the phenomena of magnetism and electricity and much else besides.

The Primer led to heated controversy among methods specialists. At that time, the phonic method of teaching was predominant, that is, the pupil was given a sound and the letter corresponding to it as its symbol, after which the sounds with their letters were merged into syllables and words. The phonic method contrasted with the traditional method of putting letters together, that is, the presentation of a letter as the symbol of a sound and the merging of the letters representing sounds. Tolstoy questioned the correctness of setting these two methods in opposition to each other as mutually exclusive and demonstrated that the phonic method contains elements of the ABC method and that to deny this meant turning one's back on so many centuries of previous learning experience. An experimental verification of the method proposed by Tolstoy was organized, in connection with which he put forward a number of original ideas on the organization of educational experiments, several years before educationists in Russia and the West (Sikorsky, A. Lay, E. Meumann) began to make wide use of experiments to evaluate various forms and methods of learning.

The New Primer was published in 1875 as a new collection of teaching materials. It was more comprehensive and had been improved as a result of disputes with Tolstoy's opponents. It was greeted with approval in the general and educational press and the Tsarist Ministry of Education even allowed it into people's schools. In Tolstoy's lifetime, it ran to over thirty editions and was printed in for what at that time were large runs. 'An example of ideal simplicity and living truth', 'the peak of perfection from the psychological and artistic point of view' – such were the opinions of authoritative educationists. One of them indeed, S. A. Rachinsky, a university professor, was attracted by the idea of serving people's education and abandoned his university chair in order to teach peasant children in a village school. His opinion was as categorical as it was brief: 'Every educated Russian should be acquainted with the children's books of Count L. N. Tolstoy.'[20]

With his tales specially written for *The Primer*, Tolstoy in fact created a whole literature for children. Even today, Russians get to know the works of the author of *War and Peace, Resurrection* and *Anna Karenina* in their infancy through his tales, such as 'The Shark', 'Filippok', 'The Lion and the Dog', 'The

Leap', 'The Three Bears', 'The Prisoner of the Caucasus' and others. Furthermore, the artistic principles enunciated for the tales in *The Primer*, namely that everything should be 'beautiful, brief, simple and, above all, clear', were a distinguishing feature of Tolstoy's style in later years.

Tolstoy's subsequent educational ventures were to a greater extent connected with his moral and ethical teaching and were expressed in articles, letters, conversations and notes such as 'Thoughts on Education', 'Physical Labour', 'Talks with Children on Moral Matters', 'The Teacher's Principal Task', etc. He broke with ritual, official religion (Leo Tolstoy was excommunicated by the Church Synod), and developed the ideas of so-called true Christianity, not opposing evil by force, and laid stress on the unique role of education in improving human relationships and in achieving social well-being on the way.

In the latter years of Tolstoy's life, his educational ideas were adopted not only in Russia but also in other countries, where attitudes to them were also mixed. Some people considered his views on upbringing and education as impractical and far removed from the needs of the school, while others saw them in a positive light. Thus the Japanese teacher Sekizi Nyesiyama considered 'romantic insight in the approach to the child' as a new view in the science of education, and Tolstoy's methods of developing the child's creative abilities as 'a great educational discovery'.[21] The great Japanese writer Nakazato Kaizan, the founder of the so-called 'literature for the people', even made his estate into a miniature Yasnaya Polyana, opened a Sunday school, taught peasant children, and read them Russian stories which he narrated himself.

The Spanish educationist Angel Bue turned to Tolstoy for advice as did the French writer Fernand Aubier, the British teacher Fanny Franks and the Argentine Clothilda Gonzalez. The American social activist Ernest Crosby, having studied the activity of the school at Yasnaya Polyana, wrote a book entitled *Tolstoy as a Schoolmaster* when he returned to the United States from Russia. He frequently told his American colleagues about Tolstoy's school and about a characteristic episode he had witnessed at Yasnaya Polyana.

While playing with Tolstoy's small daughter, Sasha, a peasant boy had given her left hand a painful blow with a stick. With tears in her eyes, the girl had run to her father asking for protection and for the boy to be punished. Tolstoy had sat his daughter on his knee, calming her and talking to her, and had then, proposed that she go to the boy and treat him to some raspberry jam (it was a rare event for a country child to be treated to jam). The boy was expecting anything but that turn of events and was mightily astonished. After that, he was unlikely to offend again, concluded Crosby.

However, one American teacher retorted: 'In my opinion, the boy should have hit her on the other hand the next day.' It was now Crosby's turn to be astonished. Reflecting on his colleague's unexpected words, he came to the conclusion that there were two ways, the Russian and the American, of reacting to a manifestation of force and of good-will. Crosby could not fail to acknowledge that behind the Russian approach lay a deep and unique truth and for that

reasons he said: 'But if there is any truth in this Russian view of things, can we not apply this truth more often in our lives. . . . Teachers ought to give this matter a great deal of thought.'[22]

Shortly after the death of Leo Tolstoy, Lenin, speaking of his contribution to the development of world culture, said that Tolstoy's heritage 'includes that which has not become a thing of the past, but belongs to the future'.[23]

This is why, after the Russian Revolution, Tolstoy's educational as well as literacy legacy was adopted by the whole nation. His works have been published many times in enormous editions in all the languages used by the peoples of the former USSR. His literary works form part of the school curriculum and his educational writings are studied at special teacher-training establishments for nursery-school, primary-school and secondary and higher education. It is very appropriate that, in the jubilee year of 1987, the Association of Children's Writers and Artists, which came under the Union of Soviet Societies of Friendship and Cultural Ties with Foreign Countries, should have instituted the Leo Tolstoy International Gold Medal, to be awarded to outstanding humanists who have given their hearts to children. Its first winners were Albert Sabin (a member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science), Astrid Lindgren (a Swedish writer) and Antonina Khlebushkina (principal of children's Home No. 1, Tashkent, USSR).

Notes

1. This profile was first published in *Prospects*, Vol. 18, No. 3, 1988.
2. V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 16, p. 323; see also *Leo Tolstoy as the Mirror of the Russian Revolution*, Vol. 15, pp. 202-09.
3. L. N. Tolstoy, 'A Landowner's Morning,' *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, p. 165.
4. L. N. Tolstoy, *Complete Works*, Vol. 60, p. 325 (in Russian).
5. L. N. Tolstoy, *Educational Writings*, p. 55, Moscow, 1951 (in Russian).
6. Ibid., pp. 56-57.
7. Tolstoy, *Complete Works*, op. cit. Vol. 38, pp. 141-42.
8. L. N. Tolstoy, *My Memoirs*, pp. 178-81, Moscow, 1914 (in Russian).
9. Lenin, *Collected Works*, op. cit., p. 325.
10. K. D. Ushinsky, *Complete Works*, Vol. 3, p. 622; Moscow/Leningrad, 1948 (in Russian). A profile of K. D. Ushinsky appears in this series of '100 Thinkers on Education'.
11. L. N. Tolstoy, *The Teacher*, p. 88 (in Russian).
12. Ibid., pp. 157-58.
13. *Vestnik Evropy* [The Messenger of Europe], Vol. 2, 1900, p. 582.
14. Tolstoy, *The Teacher*, op. cit., p. 61.
15. N. N. Gusev, *A Life of L. N. Tolstoy*, Vol. 2, p. 129 (in Russian).
16. Ibid., p. 131.
17. Tolstoy, *Complete Works*, op. cit., Vol. 62, p. 130.
18. Ibid., Vol. 61, p. 269.
19. N. A. Constantinov et al., *A History of Education*, Moscow, 1982, p. 237 (in Russian).

20. *'The Primer' and 'The New Primer'*, Moscow, 1978, p. 191 (in Russian).
21. See A. I. Shifman, *L. N. Tolstoy and the East*, Moscow, 1971, p. 268 (in Russian).
22. E. Crosby, *Tolstoy as a Schoolmaster*, pp. 60 et seq., Moscow, 1906 (Russian translation).
23. Lenin, *Collected Works*, op. cit., Vol. 16, p. 327.

ÁGOSTON TREFORT

(1817–88)

Istvánné Kiss

Ágoston Trefort was one of the outstanding figures of Hungarian cultural policy in the nineteenth century. He was in charge of public education for more than fifteen years.[1] An important milestone of his work was the creation of the first Act on Secondary Education, a subject of intense parliamentary debate. This act – No. 30 of 1883 – shaped the organization and management of secondary schools, as well as the system of teacher training, which were to remain more or less unchanged until 1945. Half a century later, Gyula Kornis commented on the act as follows: '. . . this was not one of those rashly drafted acts which soon require modifications. It was a model of serious legislation – it met public needs and stood the test of time.'[2]

Trefort believed that the reform of secondary education could not be separated from the issue of teacher training; in this assumption he was following József Eötvös.[3] In his ministerial capacity, Trefort strove to make the teacher training institutions more effective. In this venture he was supported by the foremost experts of the age, such as Mór Kármán, one of Trefort's chief advisors in issues related to teacher training and qualification. Kármán's impact on the relevant sections of the act is quite evident.

Trefort took office in September 1872, not long before the first (and, for a long time, the only) practical teacher training school was opened. The school was part of the pedagogical department of the Teacher Training Institute at the University in Budapest; it was to be the chief setting for Mór Kármán's educational work for decades to come. In 1873, Trefort appointed Kármán notarial secretary of the National Committee for Public Education. Kármán also became the editor of the journal *Magyar Tanügy* [Hungarian Education] and from then on the journal played a significant part in the reform of public education. With respect to secondary education reform and teacher training, the most fruitful period in their long collaboration was the decade after 1872.

Early measures

In his first year as minister, Trefort took two important measures related to teacher training. In the autumn of 1872 the Parliament passed an act, on Trefort's initiative, to found a university in Kolozsvár (Cluj), and Trefort also oversaw the establishment of a teacher training institute there. At the same time, he united the two separate training schools for secondary school-teachers. The two, originally founded by József Eötvös, and which were training teachers for grammar schools (*gymnasia*) and modern schools (*reáltanoda*), were merged into a single institution belonging to the Faculty of Arts. The explanation given for this measure was the following:

> . . . because the task of the grammar school and the modern school is one and the same, in spite of their different means and methods. One prepares our youth for university studies and initiates them into high culture through study of ancient languages, mathematics and the natural sciences, the other prepares them for university studies, and for the Technical University in particular, with the help of modern languages, mathematics and the natural sciences. Therefore, it is not necessary to train their teachers in separate institutions.[4]

Trefort issued a temporary regulation for the new unified institute for the academic year 1873/74.[5] In spite of his intentions, however, the temporary regulation remained in effect for twenty-five years. József Sztoczek, a respected professor at the Technical University, was appointed principal of the unified institute. The different departments hired the best professors from the university and the Technical University,[6] such as the young but already established scientist Loránd Eötvös. As laid down in the new regulations, the practical training school was allowed to have its own independent administration, although it was to retain close connections with the teacher training institute.

Another achievement of the first year of Trefort's ministerial work was to raise the salaries of secondary school-teachers. This came into effect in 1873 and undoubtedly had a major, although indirect, effect on teacher training.

Boarding schools

The administrative reform of the training institute, as described above, did not resolve the problematic relations between the Faculty of Arts and the institute, although more often than not the instructors were the same. The finest experts in teacher training, such as Gusztáv Heinrich, Mór Kármán and later Loránd Eötvös, accused the Faculty of Arts of providing inadequate professional training in comparison with the Faculties of Medicine or Law. They thought this inadequacy was the result of lax curricular and examination regulations. One of the most frequent accusations was that the faculty paid no attention to the earlier studies of its students, and the existence or otherwise of previously acquired knowledge.

Critics maintained that certain introductory courses in specific subjects, and also courses providing students with a broader perspective and sound scientific thinking, were sadly lacking. Due to unsatisfactory practical results, and inspired by the preliminary work on the new regulations, Trefort sent an ordinance to the National Committee for Public Education on 18 July 1875 asking for their views concerning a further reorganization of the institute:

> Many a time have I emphasized, and I am confident that the whole country is with me in this matter, that the key to the improvement of secondary education, and indeed of public education in general, is the training of teachers. The issue is all the more important with respect to secondary schools, since these are preparatory institutions for higher education, as well as a source of staff for primary education, and, therefore, must become the focus of all our efforts at improvement in both of these directions.[7]

Evaluating the achievements of the teacher training institutions in Budapest and Kolozsvár, he asserted that their work was not effective enough:

> The main reason for that, as I see it, is that their current organization is lacking in sufficient control and in the intellectual guidance and discipline which is necessary if trainees are to satisfy all their tasks, and if the prescribed lectures and practices are to meet their specific purpose and be held without fail and, finally, if the training is to accommodate each trainee's talent and abilities, as well as the needs of education at any one time.

Trefort proposed something new, keeping in mind that most of the teacher trainees were needy students from small towns, who, in their effort to make ends meet, could not devote all their energy to their studies. Following the model of the Ecole normale supérieure in Paris, the teacher training institutes would be turned into boarding schools 'in order that the future teachers can meet the requirement of general learnedness and professional rigour, in addition to acquiring a complete training in their chosen subject'. (The subsequent founding of the Eötvös College was based on this idea of Trefort's, originally suggested by Loránd Eötvös.)

Kármán immediately responded to the minister's suggestion in the columns of 'Hungarian Education', even before the official response of the Committee for Public Education was given.[8] He welcomed the proposal and agreed with the importance of the planned boarding school, but he also voiced certain doubts. He did not think it was realistic to grant everyone a place in the boarding school and he did not think this was a real solution. He suggested that the training institute needed a much stronger, full-time faculty, 'which in terms of qualifications, would meet the standards of a university and in which jobs would require a certain scholarly degree (that of "docens"), but which would nevertheless maintain close connections with teaching practice and thus serve as a mediator between the scholarship of the university and the practice of the schools'.

The proposal of the National Committee for Public Education,[9] which was written soon after, reflected a similar view. This was no coincidence, since Kármán was extremely respected by the members of the committee and the draft-

ing of the official response to the minister was among his duties as a notarial secretary. Some shifts in emphasis can be observed in the two texts, however. Since Trefort referred to the French model of teacher training, completely separated from the university, the committee saw fit to assert that 'the institute should be organized as a university institute and part of the Faculty of Arts', maintaining that the separation of teacher training from the tasks of the university would endanger the professional standards of training for secondary schools, and ignore the unmet demand for professionals in higher education. The committee also supported Kármán's intentions of stabilizing the faculty of the institute; they proposed the appointment of a full-time 'senior teacher' for each subject, who could directly manage and control the studies of all trainees in a given subject. So that these teachers may still have enough time for research, the committee proposed hiring teaching assistants for them, 'who could help with supervising the practices and the independent work of the trainees according to the instructions of the senior teachers'.

It followed logically from the committee's view of teacher training as a task incumbent upon the university that they would want the Faculty of Arts to elaborate a systematic university curriculum capable of ensuring the successful preparation of the students for the State teaching examination in a three-year programme. According to this plan, the primary tasks of the full-time teachers of the institute would be to supervise the lectures offered by the different departments, supervise the professional development of their students and ultimately influence work in the Faculty of Arts which represented the interests of teacher training. This was the most problematic point in the whole proposal, because the faculty saw this as an attack on its autonomy and the general principle of academic freedom, which was protected by law. Therefore, it could not have been a surprise to Trefort that the proposal was rejected by the Faculty of Arts, a response which he received in March 1876, several months after his original inquiry.

The proposal of the Committee for Public Education contained another important initiative: to increase the length of the training programme to four years. According to this proposal, the students would spend the first three years on studies of their chosen subject, whereas the fourth year would be devoted to the acquisition of educational qualifications and teaching skills. They considered the work of the institute's Department of Pedagogy as satisfactory, so they did not call for any change there, but they did urge the expansion of the faculty in the training practice school.

A new qualification system

In the course of 1875, besides the reform of teacher training, Trefort was working on another issue: the renewal of the system of qualifications. This was no coincidence, since the two issues were closely linked to each other in spite of their administrative separation: degrees were issued by the National Committee

for Teacher Qualification, the members of which were experts in teacher training appointed by the minister. This new regulation of teacher training issued by Trefort was the first since the 1867 Compromise to refer to the qualification of Hungarian secondary school-teachers.[10] As a consequence of the previous unification of the teacher-training institute in 1873, it merged the qualifying committees for grammar and modern schools and introduced new examination procedures.

The new examination, introduced by Trefort, consisted of two stages. The first stage (basic examination) tested the candidate's abilities in subjects of general knowledge – Hungarian language and literature, philosophy and pedagogy – without reference to the candidate's areas of specialization. The second stage (special examination) came after completion of university studies and tested the candidates' knowledge in their respective fields. It was another novelty that passing this examination qualified the candidate for teaching in any class of the secondary school, thus abolishing the earlier distinction between senior and junior secondary school-teachers. The new examination procedures raised the standards of required knowledge. Gusztáv Heinrich wrote in praise of Trefort's measures:

> The development of our secondary schools is based on a dangerous circularity: our grammar and modern schools will be better if their teachers are better, but the colleges will only be able to educate better teachers if they get better students from the secondary schools. At long last this regulation took a brave step and broke this complacent circle in two.[11]

The second half of the 1870s saw an increase in the number of students in the Faculty of Arts who also wished to obtain teaching qualifications. The new examination procedures gave an incentive to the university to improve training conditions. The relation between the Faculty of Arts and the training institute was discussed once again. Loránd Eötvös was one of those concerned and, on his suggestion, the Faculty of Arts established an ad hoc committee to study the question.

In March 1878 Dean Arpad Keregyarto sent Trefort a major proposal on behalf of the Faculty of Arts. The document said that the faculty considered it one of its main tasks 'to supply secondary schools with teachers of the highest quality in terms of general learning and professional expertise'.[12] The Faculty of Arts criticized the complicated organization of the training institute, which allegedly became a time-consuming burden on the students. They maintained that the regulations of the institute endangered the interests of scholarly development. They ultimately asserted that 'teacher training is the exclusive right and duty of the university'. If the Faculty of Arts is to perform this acknowledged duty, an increase in the length of university studies to four years seemed inevitable. The faculty would be expanded and the structural and material conditions of education improved as well. The latter is the most crucial and forward-looking aspect of the proposal: it involved organizing seminars, new university locations, profes-

sorial salaries and student fellowships. Aware of the budgetary problems of the Ministry of Public Education, the Faculty of Arts suggested the temporary suspension of teacher training in the institute in Kolozsvar as a means of concentrating resources, since that institute trained only a few students and had no substantial impact on local university affairs. Strangely enough, the proposal happened to leave the subsidies of the Budapest institute intact – perhaps due to the fact that most of the professors hired by that institute were full-time professors of the Faculty of Arts.

Trefort sent this proposal by the Faculty of Arts to the Committee for Public Education for comment.[13] The committee's reply betrayed once again Mór Kármán's influence and refuted the university's arguments against the training institute one by one. They were still attributing the operational problems to the dysfunctional aspects pointed out by Trefort as early as 18 July 1875. They mentioned – giving voice to Kármán's grievance – that the earlier proposal submitted by the committee never received serious attention from the ministry. The committee's view was that 'the right organization of university lectures is always a prerequisite of the secondary purpose of successful teacher training'. They were more skeptical about the university seminars which were to be organized; they were undoubtedly useful for professional training but could only be a partial solution with respect to teacher training, since they were no substitute for the educational functions of lectures and practices at the training institute. There were two issues in the proposal of the Faculty of Arts which were unconditionally supported by the committee: the increase in the length of training and the improvement of material conditions. They asserted, however, that the latter should not disadvantage the teacher-training institute in Kolozsvar. By way of explanation, they raised the question of whether 'there is a danger that the suspension of teacher training in Kolozsvar may harm university education much more than the proposal suggests, since the student body of the Faculty of Arts in Kolozsvar consists exclusively of aspiring teachers'.

Finally Trefort came to the conclusion that the increased length of training was supported by all educational institutions. It was also in agreement with progress taking place in the sciences.

The new university regulation took effect in the academic year 1880/81. After preliminary consultations with all those concerned, Trefort introduced modifications in the procedures of the qualifying examination for teachers once again in 1882.[14] The examination now consisted of three stages, instead of the earlier two: all those wishing to obtain teaching qualifications had to pass a basic examination at the end of the fourth semester, a special examination at the end of the eighth semester and a final examination after one year of practice (the trial period). This system, the essentials of which were confirmed by the 1883 Act, became the starting point for all further measures concerning teachers' qualifications in Trefort's lifetime and subsequently; in fact, as long as the training institute and the Committee for Teacher Qualification existed (until 1949).

The 1883 Act on Secondary Education ordered secondary schools to hire qualified teachers only. On the other hand, studies at the teacher training institute were not a prerequisite for taking the qualifying examination, which was to become a major problem in the future. The act was not quite consistent with respect to the year-long trial period either and, if anything, it was a step back from the 1882 regulations (which were to be modified again in 1888). The great virtue of the act on the matter of teacher training was that it stated the legal requirement of teaching qualifications and specified the conditions for obtaining such qualifications in the first instance. The introduction of the year of practice, in spite of all inconsistencies, ultimately meant that the time required for obtaining teaching qualifications was raised to five years, while a degree in arts and sciences required four years. This fact heightened the prestige of a degree with teaching qualifications as opposed to one without them from the 1880s on, a trend which only increased with the establishment of the Eötvös College. These measures were a great motivation for denominational schools as well, since, from this time on, the Catholic orders and Protestant ecclesiastical institutions involved in education started to pay more attention to the issue of teacher training. Detailed legislation concerning teaching qualifications could have been more naturally part of a University Act, but, for lack of such, it was included in the Act on Secondary Education.

One legal detail of the qualifying examination which some thought harmful to minority interests was that it required a knowledge of Hungarian language and literature, and the official language of the examination itself was Hungarian. This was, of course, the result of political designs in the Hungary of the post-Compromise era.

Practical training and seminars

After 1883, attention was once more focused on the young teacher's year of practice and thus on the practical training school. (In Kolozsvar there was no practice school, so the whole issue was seen from quite a different perspective.) It has often been said of Trefort (by his contemporaries as well as by modern-day scholars) that the practice school (originally initiated by his predecessors Eötvös and Pauler) was his 'favourite child'.[15] He was a frequent visitor, attracted not only by Mór Kármán's presence, or the fact that the new secondary school curriculum issued in 1879 was first tested there, or that the school was the scene of the practical training of the most talented trainees, but also by the fact that many in its faculty could easily become replacements for aging professors in the Faculty of Arts. In spite of all the ministerial support, the circumstances under which the practical training school functioned were inadequate for a long time; more equipment and faculty were constantly needed, but in vain,[16] since, as Janos Klamarik wrote, the Ministry of Public Education never had any money to spare.[17] Finally, when new buildings were built for the department of natural sciences in the mid-1880s, the practical training school acquired new premises as well, thanks to

Trefort's support. When the building was officially opened, the street on which it was located was renamed Trefort Street. Trefort was present at the opening ceremony, and Kármán made a speech.[18] From then on, the Committee for Public Education and the Committee for Teacher Qualification were also housed in the new building.

The year 1887 was a year of building in a broader sense as well. After years of preparation, the first seminars were created at the Faculty of Arts; the ones in history, classics and modern philology were followed over the next few years by others. Thanks to these seminars, professors could maintain closer contacts with students, and the preparation of individual students for academic work became more thorough. All this had a positive effect on teacher training as well.

The establishment of these seminars gave Trefort a new chance to raise the standards of teacher training. The new regulations of the qualifying examination issued in 1888[19] retained equal requirements for different majors, thereby abolishing the system of majors and minors permitted in 1882. Undoubtedly, this was a further motivation for the educational work at the Faculty of Arts. It is quite possible that Trefort was influenced in this decision by an open letter addressed to him by Loránd Eötvös.[20]

The students of the teacher training institute had official priority for admission to the seminars and for relevant fellowships. Administrative links between the two institutions remained loose, however. In his directive to the Faculty of Arts in 1886, Trefort stated that he wished to maintain the structure of the existing teacher training institute until the establishment of a boarding school became feasible. It is known from indirect sources[21] that the reform of teacher training was very much on his mind before his death, but the actual implementation of his ideas was left to later generations.

Notes

1. See: J. Antall and A. Ladányi, 'A magyarországi felsőoktatás az abszolutizmus es adualizmus korában' [Higher Education in Hungary in the Age of Absolutism and Dualism], *Felsöoktatasi Szemle* (Budapest), 1968, pp. 536-46; L. Felkai, 'Az. 1883. évi középiskolai törvény létrejötte' [The Accomplishments of the 1883 Secondary School Act], *Pedagógiai Szemle* (Budapest), 1959, pp. 660-75; L. Felkai, 'A tanárképzées történeti áttekintése aszázadfordulóig' [Historical Review of Teacher Training up to the Turn of the Century], *Pedagógiai Szemle* (Budapest), 1961, pp. 431-44; L. Felkai, 'Trefort Ágoston miniszteri évei' [Ágoston Trefort's Years as Minister], *Pedagógiai Szemle* (Budapest), 1988, pp. 674-86; Miklós Mann, *Trefort Ágoston élete és müködése* [The Life and Works of Ágoston Trefort], Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982; Imre Szentpétery, *A Bölcsészettudományi kar Története* [History of the Faculty of Arts], Vol. IV.2, 'A Trefort-korszak', pp. 497-552 Budapest, 1935; István Diószegi, *Az ELTE Bölcsészettudományi Karának Története V, 'A dualizmus kora* [The Age of Dualism in the History of the Faculty of Arts of ELTE V], Budapest, 1989, pp. 55-73.
2. Gyula Kornis, *A kultura válsága* [The Crisis of Culture], Franklin, 1934, p. 157.

3. A profile of József Eötvös also appears in this series.
4. Ágoston Trefort, *Emlékbeszédek és tanulmányok* [Memorial Addresses and Studies], 1881, pp. 336-37.
5. ELTE Lt. 15/b - 168/1873.
6. Kiss Istvanné, *Eötvös Józseftöl Eötvös Lorándig* [From Jozsef Eotvös to Loránd Eotvös], ELTE, 1988, pp. 52-53.
7. *Magyar Tanügy* [Hungarian Education] (Budapest), 1875, pp. 622-23.
8. Ibid., pp. 624-27.
9. *Magyar Tanügy*, 1878, pp. 414-25.
10. János Klamarik, *A magyar iskolák szervezete és eljárása* [Organization and Regulation of Schools in Hungary], Budapest, 1881. (From p. 109 includes the complete text of the regulations issued as Decree No. 26,077 of the Ministry of Religion and Public Education on 28 October 1875.)
11. Gusztáv Heinrich, 'Az uj tanarvizsgalati szabályzat' [New Rules for the Teachers' Examination], *Magyar Tanügy* (Budapest), 1876, p. 28.
12. *Magyar Tanügy* (Budapest), 1879, pp. 105-11.
13. Ibid., pp. 111-26.
14. Szabályzat a középiskolai (gymnasiumi és reáliskolai) tanárvizsgálatra [Rules for the Examination of Teachers for Grammar Schools and for Secondary Schools of Modern Languages, Sciences and Latin]. Decree No. 4567 of the Ministry of Religion and Public Education issued on 30 January 1882. Budapest, 1882, 16 pp.
15. Péter Gunszt, 'Marczali Henrik történetirói pályakezdése' [The Start of Henrik Marczali's Career as a Historiographer], *Századok* (Budapest), 1987, p. 911.
16. Kiss Istvánné, op. cit., pp. 80-82, 86-87, 92-96.
17. György Wolf and János Waldapfel, eds., *Emlékkönyv Kármán Mór 25 éves tanári munkásságának emlékére* [Publication in Honour of Mór Kármán on the Occasion of His Twenty-five Years' Service to Teaching], Budapest, 1897, p. 20.
18. A. M. Kir, Tanárképzöintézet Gyakorló Fögymnasiumának Értesitöje az 1887/88. tanévröl [Report on the 1887/88 School Year of the Principal Grammar School Attached to the Teacher Training College], Budapest, 1887, p. 4.
19. Szabályzat a középiskolai tanárvizsgálat tárgyában [Rules for the Examination of Secondary School Teachers]. Decree No. 50098 of the Ministry of Religion and Public Education issued in 1888. Budapest, 1888, 66 pp.
20. Loránd Eötvös, *Eötvös Loránd a tudós ös müvelödéspolitikus irásaiból* [The Writings of Loránd Eötvös, the Educational Scholar and Politician], Budapest, Gondolat, 1964, pp. 179-97.
21. Szentpétery, op. cit., pp. 513-14.

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DAVORIN TRSTENJAK[1]

(1848–1921)

Nedjeljko Kujundžić

Davorin Trstenjak (who originated from Croatia) belonged to a small European nation, and this fact certainly helped to shape his belief that freedom was the most precious possession of man. The entire life of this teacher and educational theorist was spent in an effort to uphold and promote the idea of freedom and giving it a central place in his philosophy of education. The role of freedom in the educational process has never been stressed so strongly by any Croatian educator before or after Trstenjak, and there are not many educators who have based all their theoretical and practical educational work on this notion. Trstenjak can therefore rightly be considered as one of the founders of modern emancipatory pedagogy, a dominant trend in the education of our time.

Trstenjak's beliefs as a teacher were in full accord with his personal disposition. He cherished freedom above everything else and inculcated this love to thousands of students whom he taught and whose troubles and joys he shared.

He was born on 8 November 1848 at Krcevine, a small village in a corner of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which had not been touched by the great European revolution. His freedom-loving spirit was awakened very early: 'Grammar school was a torture chamber for me,'[2] he wrote later, remembering his authoritarian Herbartian schooling which suppressed the personality of pupils in every respect, trying to mould obedient subjects parroting whatever was taught as official doctrine. Reminiscing about the difficult period of groping for self-realization, in the autobiography which he wrote shortly before his death, Trstenjak said: 'Since my youth, freedom of thought has been my goddess.'[3]

After graduating from teacher-training school he worked as a schoolteacher at Karlovac (1871-89), Kostajnica (1889-99) and Gospic (1899-1908). Afraid of this free-thinking man, the authorities forced him to retire in 1908. However, during the remaining thirteen years of his life he became even more active and produced a series of books and several hundred articles.

He died in Zagreb on 10 February 1921 – independent and his own man in spite of his poverty and lack of official recognition. In his will he demanded to be

cremated (which was considered shocking at that time) and interred without ceremony. He left his modest property to educational institutions, his last act of faith in the educational mission.

An adherent of liberty

Always on the side of the teaching profession and the people, and never on the side of institutions, he wrote in 1908:

> The schools, teachers and students will be freed by those who are ready to dedicate their work, their sacrifices and enthusiasm to the development of education; those who rise and fall with it; those who are the soul of every school; they will be freed by the teachers who teach at school and by the folk who send their children to school.[4]

Out of this passionate personal adherence to liberty a philosophical concept of freedom as man's highest ideal and aim gradually developed, based particularly on Trstenjak's study of Socrates, Rousseau, Pestalozzi and Nietzsche.

As has been pointed out by D. Frankovic, Trstenjak's best biographer to date, he was the first Croatian educator who 'made man as fighter the objective of education'.[5] Even when considered in an international context, Trstenjak remains quite unique in the clarity, vehemence, consistency and methodological soundness of his thesis that freedom and the effort to achieve self-emancipation should be the ideals of education. It is because of these qualities that Davorin Trstenjak, an educator formed in the backwaters of Europe, deserves to be presented to a wider public.

Davorin Trstenjak understood 100 years ago that history should be defined as man's painful struggle for his full emancipation. He claimed that historical development was moving towards the affirmation of ever smaller units of collective existence. Today we know that this thesis has been confirmed by the march of events: after the First World War more than fifty new states were created, and this number was doubled after the Second World War. Today, the United Nations consists of more than 180 Member States, and a number of nations are still struggling for independence. In this movement towards emancipation schools must play a decisive role. Since Socrates was the first to state the crucial importance of education for man's development, Trstenjak was right to consider him as the first emancipatory educator and his most venerated forbear.

Within Trstenjak's education system, freedom is seen as the essential element, the axis of man's overall activity. Every individual intuitively feels the need to be free. According to Trstenjak, anthropology and pedagogy must analyze this drive for liberty, mark its limits and find a modus vivendi for all the separate freedoms required by each individual. He believed that only with the help of an emancipatory education would people be able to improve their condition: he also believed in the emancipatory power of creativity in the field of science and the arts: 'In Antiquity man was educated for the state, in the Middle Ages for the church, and in the modern age he is educated to be himself – a

man.'[6] In classical antiquity the technology of education relied on coercion, in medieval times on prayer; in modern times it must rely on creativeness, science, technology and work, that is, those activities with which man can broaden the horizons of his freedom. This is why Trstenjak did not set great store on the activity of political parties:

> Technical progress is the basis of man's development . . . only when man invented the tools and means of production was he able to rise above the animal. At that moment he began to build a separate empire, governed by different rules of development, which do not exist in the rest of nature.[7]

Learning how to learn

Even today many theories of education hold that the main task of schools and educators consists in transmitting the acquired historical experience of mankind to the younger generation. Trstenjak was among the first to see that this notion was self-contradictory, because insistence on traditional experience stifles the primal freedom-instinct among the young. Pupils treated as mechanical sponges, taking in all that they are told, will not be able to create anything new. Aware of this, in opposition to the authoritarian tradition to teaching, Trstenjak insisted on the importance of 'learning how to learn', of conditioning the young to be creative and to act independently, instead of passively accumulating information to be mechanically reproduced in examinations. Trstenjak embraced the precept *Ars docendi imitatur artem discendi* (The art of teaching is an imitation of the art of learning), but never veered completely to a child-centred approach. He advocated a synthesis between guidance and spontaneous growth. With the goal of leading to the true emancipation of the individual, education should be conceived as a form of help, communication, understanding and love – creative co-operation. Here Trstenjak's concept of freedom is crucial as well. Individuals can be educated only because they are ontologically directed towards freedom. A person therefore accepts – and craves for – activity which increases his/her freedom and, conversely, resists everything which, in Sartre's words, steals it. If people are relatively free at every stage of history, it follows that they are also beings requiring education in order to realize themselves.

As a separate science, pedagogy must instead concentrate on fruitful communication between the student and social values. Its essential subject is the 'how' rather than the 'what'. First, pedagogy must awaken the interest of children and young people for science and technology; second, it must help them to grasp what is essential in newly acquired knowledge; third, it should enable them to move from understanding to effective action; fourth, it should help students to evaluate education and learning; last, and most important, it must lead them to control their own freedom.

If educational science is mainly concerned with communication, then, as Trstenjak also knew, the accent must be on the educational process and its cata-

lyst, the teacher. Trstenjak wrote warmly and passionately about the role of the educator from first-hand knowledge. For him an educator's talent was equal to that of an artist. The artist can learn the principles or art history, even some techniques, but creativeness and virtuosity cannot be learned. Likewise, an educator can and must learn many things, but only a person endowed with a special talent can become an outstanding teacher. The highest gift of the teacher is, therefore, the gift to communicate.

That Trstenjak was a master at communicating with his pupils can be witnessed by testimonials from former students.[8] With the intuition of a born teacher he was aware of the pupils' needs for a whole experience. He set meaningful challenges to their cognitive, emotive and psycho-motor capacities, often varying his methods, creating a total experience. In short, he animated them, then let them process the information by themselves. He knew that it is only after the pupil's potentials have been freed under the teacher's influence that the process of education can be transformed into self-education, a process during which the pupil learns to behave in a new, freer and more purposeful way. Trstenjak knew that society will never have all the gifted teachers that it needs, but he still believed that educators without talent should not be allowed to set foot in a classroom. He wrote: 'Those who think that there exists anything in the world more exalted than the teaching profession know nothing about this calling.'[9] Trstenjak described his notion of educational commitment as follows:

> The best schools are those that teach children to be their own masters, willing and capable to work, rather than to be good and obedient only as long as they are under control. Children must be taught to become men who will not need to be watched in everyday life, and they should be educated in such a manner as to be capable of mastering themselves.[10]

Thus, the way to freedom always leads from education to self-education. It is therefore the main task of every educator to emancipate his students, to open up new prospects for them, to teach them how to learn, work and create rather than to fill their heads with ready-made clichés and stereotypes. The only 'must' for a teacher is the capacity to use metaphors that will present new knowledge to the pupils in as vivid and concrete form as possible. School is not merely a preparation for later life, it is life itself in which students test their abilities and simultaneously become free.

Later, in 1914, summing up his life and work in his biography entitled *What I Wanted*, Trstenjak gave the following interpretation of his personal commitment:

> I wished to make exemplary people from my students, to transform them spiritually and morally; I wished our folk to be as emancipated as possible, as honest, hardworking, happy, free and glorious as possible, and I worked towards this goal both within and outside the school. . . .I am happy that I have not lived in vain . . . that I have added my drop to the lake of our culture.[11]

This by no means small drop consisted of an impressive oeuvre: about forty books and about 500 essays.

A freedom fighter

Davorin Trstenjak spent his entire life fighting for the emancipation of his country and of himself, and his ideal of free education should be of interest to us as long as freedom is of interest to us. Stressing freedom as the common denominator of all that is human, Trstenjak upheld the highest idea of education and of human life as a whole. Trstenjak developed a pluralistic concept of freedom, whereby each individual and each nation can achieve emancipation – in association with others, but also on the basis of their own creative needs. In this he was a true progressive humanist.

Trstenjak's other unmistakable contribution is his theory about the teacher and about educational communication. As we have seen, he put forward the idea of the artist/educator, animator and creator. In his view the teacher is not to be allowed to usurp the sacred right of students to be individuals. He is only there to help them develop, to use their own talents. For Trstenjak education was in fact a branch of the science of human action – of praxeology. Regarding education as self-education he believed that the students were the final authors of their personality. The educator is just a necessary assistant to man's self-constitution and self-realization through work, free exchange of ideas and creative daring. Schools, seen as organizations in the service of education, should therefore be radically restructured to become places of true learning, where all the participants in the educational process are free, equal, and motivated by mutual respect. Comenius' dictum, *omnes, omnia, omnio* (to teach everyone, everything, completely), was uppermost in his mind at all times. He believed in this educational maxim from the beginning of his career to its end and, more than that, he successfully put it into practice.

For his dedicated service to his people, his homeland has honoured him by instituting an annual award bearing his name, which is given to those educators who carry on his emancipatory educational mission.

Notes

1. This profile was first published in *Prospects*, Vol. 16, No. 4, 1986.
2. D. Trstenjak, *Uzgoj covjeka* [The Education of Man], p. 27, Zagreb, 1917.
3. D. Trstenjak, *Sto sam htjeo* [What I Wanted], p. 7, Zagreb, Pedagoski Arhiv, 1914.
4. D. Trstenjak, *Slobodna skola* [A Free School], Zagreb, 1918, pp. 23-29.
5. D. Frankovic, *Davorin Trstenjak - borac za slobodnu skolu* [Davorin Trstenjak – Fighter for a Free Schoo], p. 149, Zagreb, Skolska Knjiga, 1978.
6. Trstenjak, *Slobodna skola*, op. cit., p. 1.
7. D. Trstenjak, *Prirodni uzgajatelji* [Teachers by Nature], p. 9, Zagreb, 1907.
8. J. Radosevic, 'Davorin Trstenjak kao ucitelj' [Davorin Trstenjak as a Teacher], *Ucitelj* (Belgrade), No. 10, 1931.

9. D. Trstenjak, *Zreo učitelj* [The Mature Teacher], p. 127, Zagreb, 1907.
10. Trstenjak, *Što sam htjeo*, op. cit., p. 11.
11. Ibid.

KONSTANTIN DMITRIEVITCH USHINSKY[1]

(1823–71)

Miroslav Cipro

A synthetic approach

What we regard as 'classical' can be described as something that originated in the past but has retained its importance up to the present day. Thus, regardless of its age, we still seek in the classical a source of valuable inspiration indicating the approach to be adopted to current problems. In this respect, education has also had its classics, such as Comenius, Diesterweg, Fröbel, Locke, Makarenko, Montessori, Pestalozzi, Rousseau and other great theoreticians.[2] Among them, a prominent place is occupied by the famous Russian educationist K. D. Ushinsky. If one of the unmistakable signs characterizing every exceptional scientist is a multitude of enthusiastic disciples, adherents and followers, then Ushinsky was a truly exceptional personality in the field of the educational sciences: the number of his followers and admirers is legion. One of his most talented disciples, Modzalevsky, said that, just as Lomonosov was the embodiment of Russian science, Suvorov a representative of leadership in war, Pushkin the greatest national poet and Glinka a composer of genius, Ushinsky was an incarnation of the ideas of nineteenth-century Russian education.

This comparison does not exaggerate Ushinsky's significance, for the role of education and its theory is certainly no less important than that played by science and art. On the contrary, its quality influences the standard of these other valuable human activities. And Ushinsky was, indeed, the most important Russian national educationist of the nineteenth century. Naturally, Russian educational thought of that period can boast such other outstanding personalities as the revolutionary democrats Gercen, Bielinsky, Czernishevsky, Dobrolyubov and Pisarev, the physician Pirogov or the famous writer Leo Tolstoy.[3] In comparison, they only gave passing attention to education. Ushinsky was the only one who, from his thirtieth year onward, pursued questions of education and teaching as a full-time occupation. That is why the Gruzinian educationist J. S. Gogebashvili, appreciating his all-round erudition and exceptional creative gift, called him 'the

patriarch of Russian pedagogy'. He was also called the teacher of Russian teachers, the friend of the Russian child, the founder of the Russian primary school, and the father of Russian scientific teaching. His other ardent followers, V. Ostrogorsky and D. Semyonov, writing about him in 1889, used the following prophetic words: 'The more our educational literature develops and the more Russian education improves, the greater the importance of Ushinsky will grow.' Academician V. P. Pitiemkin, the first President of the Academy of Educational Sciences of the USSR, made the following statement about him: 'Ushinsky belongs not only to the past. He is still a living force in our own time.'

These views of the influence of Ushinsky's personality on Russian and Soviet education are widely shared. On the basis of surveys of 100 selected synthetic works from different areas of world educational literature, Ushinsky is considered to rank among the twenty most prominent educationists of all time and in all countries of the world. In the former USSR he was, after Lenin and Makarenko, the third most frequently quoted author in educational literature.

It is thus understandable that the prestige of Ushinsky is bound to increase at the international level as the relevance of his work to contemporary problems is recognized. In fact, some ostensibly new fields of education were anticipated by him more than a century ago. At that time comparative education was hardly spoken of, but in fact Ushinsky was already intensely interested in it as can be seen in his comparison of Western European education with the situation prevailing in Russia. Furthermore, the theory of adult education as a special educational discipline had not yet been accepted. Ushinsky, however, contributed to it by his profound meditation on Sunday schools. The problem of mass education and literacy in developing countries was not a prominent one because those countries were still colonies. Russia itself was then in some respects a developing country. Ushinsky was aware of this fact and concerned himself, more than a hundred years ago, with this problem, namely to what extent foreign educational models should or should not be adopted and what role should be assigned to national traditions. In those days there was still considerable prejudice against women's access to education, but Ushinsky believed that women ought to receive the same education as men and that both sexes had an equal right to obtain higher education at university.

Furthermore, the notion of educational science is gaining acceptance due to the complexity of subjects affecting teaching. Ushinsky had already advocated this view in the middle of the last century and had also started to put it into effect in his major work *Man as the Object of Education: Educational Anthropology*. He was also one of the first great educationists to emphasize the immense moral significance of work, as well as the importance of vocational (trade) schools for apprentices. He was the master of didactics at the primary school, drawing on his wide knowledge of psychology; he also wrote textbooks on this subject.

Ushinsky was endowed with the special ability to combine a deep analysis of the object of his investigation with a synthetic view, to express analogies of the

educational process with other events using inspiring metaphors combined with a refined, flowing literary style.

His style is somewhat comparable to that of Comenius who was fond of using numerous comparisons and analogies for the classification of his ideas. Ushinsky was criticized by some narrowly oriented contemporaries who rejected his approach as unscientific. But, after all, does not education really have a great deal in common with other social and natural processes? Even Ushinsky was too much of a pedagogue to be willing to miss the chance of touching on these common aspects wherever they inspired this lucid observer's meditation. As a matter of fact, cognition does not proceed solely along the well-trodden paths of formal logic. Art, too, is a way of perceiving reality, and Comenius's and Ushinsky's methods include a number of metaphoric elements suggestive of this form of expression. After all, Ushinsky expressly emphasized that education was a science.

The charm of his educational personality lay inter alia in the fact that he was able to combine a strictly scientific approach, based on his wide erudition in many branches of social science, with the creativity of an artist capable of responding to a unique educational situation in a unique manner.

Ushinsky correctly anticipated what was much later imaginatively expressed by Makarenko: that education is the most dialectic of sciences because of the very infinite complexity of its subject-matter – the educational process. It is for this reason that he did not believe in stereotyped educational instructions and directions, but insisted that the teacher should be able – like the physician – to react in a creative way to every specific situation. He did not believe, however, in the power of a certain mysterious and inborn educational intuition. He propounded an objective knowledge of psychology and other sciences necessary for the understanding of a child's development. He found an example of such a teacher in the erudite Swiss Müller, about whom he expressed this appreciation:

> He has attained that educational level where all methods are swallowed up by the teacher's personality. . . . Such a supreme teacher is no longer governed by methods but creates them; he has reached the source of all methods – a perfect grasp of the fundamental principle of education.

Life and work

Konstantin Dmitrievitch Ushinsky was not quite 2 years old when the Decembrists' Revolt broke out in Russia and was cruelly suppressed by Czar Nicolas I. A group of aristocrats, who were striving for a more liberal government, attempted to organize a rebellion on 14 December 1825. The leaders were executed, the rest were sent into exile. There then followed thirty years of severe autocracy that intended to turn back the clock and preserve the way of life under the well-known motto: *Samodieržaviye, pravoslavie, narodnost* (autocracy, orthodoxy, nationhood).

Ushinsky suffered from the harshness of this regime. After having completed his law studies, he began to lecture on legal and financial questions at Yaroslavl College, only to be removed from his post. His liberal-minded and cordial approach to students was not appreciated by the conservative faction. He had difficulty in obtaining another post and, for a time, was engaged by the Ministry of the Interior as a liaison officer between the ministry and the non-Orthodox churches. But it was impossible to stifle his scientific and literary talents. In 1852 he started to contribute to the journal *Sovremennik* [The Contemporary] which was in the vanguard of the progressive intelligentsia of those days and expressed their social criticism. Working on this journal enabled Ushinsky to become well acquainted with Western European culture. Because of the subjects studied and the literary aspects involved in this work, it was a very profitable preparation for a new, extremely fruitful period of his life. The situation was also favourable for the expansion of Ushinsky's creative activity because, in 1855, when the autocracy of Nicolas I came to an end after Russia lost the Crimean War, there ensued – even though for only seven years – a certain thaw that brought about an unprecedented development in science and culture, culminating in the abolition of serfdom in 1861. Progress was evident in literature, painting, music and science, while educational problems finally began to attract widespread attention. Ushinsky's entry onto the literary and scientific arena is but one of the manifestations of this general cultural activity.

Ushinsky made full use of this time of grace and published a series of educational papers of fundamental importance, which still belong to the best of what pre-revolutionary Russian education has given to the world. The position from which he approached the problems of education is new and democratic. The logic of his reflections is clear; his language is brilliant, with a rhetorical pathos. It is a profound pleasure to read his educational meditations, because, even while authoring scientific papers, he was a teacher. His talent as a writer made his scientific arguments convincing and, at the same time, his clear thinking made his verbal expression more straightforward.

The success achieved in the Gatchino period destined him for a new, responsible task: to carry out a reform of the outdated curriculum of the Institute for the Education of Aristocratic Girls at Smolny. Ushinsky started his work with enthusiasm, but soon met with resistance from the institute's director and his supporters who accused him of atheism and political unreliability. He was prevented from continuing as editor of the educational periodical of the Ministry of Education, which he had transformed from a collection of heterogeneous proceedings into a truly lively educational journal and, according to P. A. Kropotkin, he was faced with exile. Gercen's magazine *Kolokol* [Bell], issued in London, sounded the alarm of the approaching danger. It rebuked the Czarina Mary for her inability to protect Ushinsky. To avoid a European scandal, the government decided to send him on a study visit to the West, instead of to Siberia. Thus Ushinsky was deprived of the possibility of participating in the development of Russian education, but he did not cease to study and write,

although immediately after his accusation a pulmonary disease he had contracted grew alarmingly worse.

He spent five years in the West – in Switzerland and Germany – and gained a remarkable knowledge of problems concerning European education. Even abroad he was thinking constantly about his country and the Russian school, and prepared a great part of his famous *Rodnoye slovo* [Mother Tongue] there, a book which has been reprinted 146 times to date. It is similar, in a way, to Comenius's famous *Orbis pictus*, being a splendid basic textbook on Russian combining the linguistic aspect with matter-of-fact learning, entirely in the spirit of Comenius's educational realism. But, in addition to this practically oriented work, Ushinsky was preparing a great theoretical work, *Man as the Object of Education*, the first part of which appeared after his return to Russia in 1867. The second part was published two years later, while the third part remained unfinished because the insidious disease ended the Russian educationist's life on 22 December 1871.

The collected works of K. D. Ushinsky issued by the Soviet Government in the period 1948-52, contain eleven volumes, each of which has on an average some 700 pages. They are a rich source of educational wisdom expressed with a clear logic and in beautiful language. In the former USSR and socialist countries Ushinsky was long considered as the greatest Russian educationist. When Western education, which he so intensively studied, becomes better acquainted with his original educational work, there is no doubt that his name will win ever greater renown.

An excellent expert on Ushinsky, the author of the largest monograph about his life and work, D. O. Lordkipanidze, characterized Ushinsky's political ideas as the philosophy of an enlightened, progressive man. Ushinsky belonged to those propagators of freedom described by Lenin in his article 'What Legacy We Are Giving Up'.

Although Ushinsky did not abandon religion, he insisted on the separation of science from religion and of the school from the church. His thinking ranged from idealism to materialism. In his educational works he covers the most varied questions of education, from problems of the goals of education through its content, method and organization to the concept of the teacher and his/her training. This discussion will concentrate on the most typical aspects of Ushinsky's education and their main features.

Key educational concepts

If we were to express extremely briefly the essence of Ushinsky's education, we could do so by using the following four words: nationality, language, work, science. We could develop these as follows: nationality in the world context; language as a tool of knowledge; science as a basis of art; work as a source of happiness.

The principle of nationality permeates the whole of Ushinsky's educational work, but it is dealt with particularly in the article 'On Nationality in Public Education' which appeared for the first time in 1857 in *Žournal dlia vospitaniya* [Education Journal]. As an educationist Ushinsky became involved in the problem brought about by the dispute between Occidentalists and Slavophiles. Both these movements were critical of the Czar's absolutism, but their supporters had internal differences as well, chiefly concerning the appropriate social remedy. As the terms themselves suggest, the Occidentalists were longing for reform based on the European pattern, whereas the Slavophiles wished to preserve the old traditions. Ushinsky was deeply and emotionally devoted to everything that was Russian but, at the same time, he had an excellent knowledge of Western European culture and education and was seeking a synthesis of both these trends. In his treatise, he presents first of all a knowledgeable survey of the general historical foundations of European education and, in the ninth chapter, eventually finds the answer to the question of the significance of nationality in education:

> There is only one inborn inclination, common to all, on which education can always depend: the intuition of national origins. Just as every individual possesses self-esteem, so does every individual love his homeland and this love gives education a reliable key to the human heart and a powerful support for the struggle against man's evil innate, personal and ancestral traits. When education appeals to nationality, it always evokes a response of co-operation in the lively and strong human sentiment that acts far more effectively than the views accepted by reason alone or as habits formed from fear of punishment.

At the end of his article Ushinsky formulates the relationships between national education and other nations' education in the following way:

> There is no education system that would be common to all nations. Every nation has its own specific education system. Experiences of other nations in the sphere of education are a valuable legacy to all, but not even the best examples can be accepted without being first tried by every nation with the exertion of its own efforts in this sphere.

He also warns that education should not be confused with science and that by itself it cannot solve the questions of life, but can only help to put into effect the history that is, in its turn, formed by the nation. The efficacy of education depends on the degree to which it becomes the subject of public interest. This standpoint is essentially true to this day and, at the time when he wrote these words, was a valuable contribution to overcoming the controversy between Occidentalists and Slavophiles.

The second major subject of Ushinsky's education that makes the previous topic more pertinent is language – the mother-tongue. There exist few reflections on this problem as pertinent as Ushinsky's 'Introduction' to the *Manual of Teaching According to the Mother-Tongue*. In the introductory commentary in the reading-book *Children's World* and in the textbook *Mother-Tongue*, he expressed his theoretical credo that gave a characteristic orientation to teaching in Russian schools.

Ushinsky started from the fact that when children learn a subject they always become acquainted with it through language:

> The child who has not acquired the habit of trying to grasp the sense of a word, who understands its real meaning either vaguely or not at all and who has not learnt to handle both the spoken and the written word with ease, will always suffer from this basic deficiency in the study of every other subject.

He did not deny the importance of objective teaching and active work by the child. He was, however, aware of the major role of language in the development of thinking and learning and, for this reason, he saw in language teaching an important tool for learning facts. His method is generally referred to as *obiyasnitelnoye čteniye* (reading with explanation) and was one of the main methods not only of language teaching but also of teaching facts in Soviet primary schools. Reading with explanation is naturally a method of teaching the mother-tongue because Ushinsky realized that children do not yet know their mother-tongue well. Even if they know many words, they often do not fully understand their meaning or, on the other hand, they may be unable to name a number of familiar objects correctly. The success of this method depends on the proper selection of suitable texts and that is why Ushinsky gave painstaking care to their choice as well as to their preparation. Thus, *Children's World* was prepared for the higher grades of the elementary school, containing a collection of texts from the sphere of facts, as well as poems and extracts from literature and historical prose. He then produced *Mother-Tongue* as an elementary textbook on the Russian language containing basic grammar for the lower grades.

The third principal characteristic of Ushinsky's education was the stress laid on science as a basis for its method. Education, in the narrower sense of the word, was regarded by Ushinsky not as a science but as an art that cannot, however, depend solely on educational techniques or experience alone, but must be based on the actual research findings of psychology, physiology and other sciences, which reveal the process of the child's development. He compared the art of education with the work of a doctor of medicine, which must be based on anatomy and other knowledge about the human body if it is not to become mere quackery.

In the introduction to his principal – though unfortunately unfinished – theoretical work, *Man as the Object of Education*, Ushinsky explains his concept of the scientific nature of education:

> We do not say to teachers, 'Do this' or 'Do that'; we say 'Study the laws of the mental phenomena you wish to control, and proceed in accordance with those laws and the circumstances in which you wish to apply them'. There is an infinite variety of such circumstances, and, what is more, no two pupils are alike. Given this diversity of educational circumstances and pupils, is it possible to issue any general educational prescriptions? It would be difficult to find even one educational measure that did not produce beneficial results in one case, harmful results in another and none at all in a third. This is why we advise teachers to examine as carefully as possible the general physical and spiritual

nature of man, to study their own pupils and their environment, to scrutinize the history of various educational measures that may not always spring to mind, to set themselves a clear, positive educational goal and to pursue it steadfastly, using the knowledge they have acquired and their own good sense.

The work itself is a remarkable attempt to implement his approach and to give teachers general scientific support in their educational practice. In this work, Ushinsky discussed the then known findings from psychology and other life sciences and demonstrated the possibilities for education resulting from this knowledge. Quotations can often be found to illustrate his thoughts on the training of habits, perception, memory, etc.

It should also be emphasized here that Ushinsky was not only a great expert in teaching, but also paid considerable attention to questions of education. His remarkable papers 'On the Moral Element in Russian Education' and 'On the Mental and Educational Importance of Work', both from 1860, illustrate this interest. They are written in the spirit of the ideas already expressed in the essay 'On Nationality in Public Education', but they go even further, each in its respective field. The former discusses morality at the general level, points to its dependence on freedom and to its roots, sunk deep in Russian national traditions. The latter selects from the whole complex of questions of moral education the problem that might be taken as the fourth main pillar of Ushinsky's education system – the question of work.

The paper devoted to this subject is a unique essay from which it is difficult to select a characteristic quotation because we might well quote the whole text from beginning to end. But perhaps the most typical part of the paper is contained in the following passage:

> Genuine and necessarily free work – because there neither is nor could be any other kind – means so much for the life of an individual that without it life would lose all value and dignity. It is necessary not only for a person's development but also for maintaining the level of dignity already achieved. If he does not work, the individual can neither progress nor remain at the same level but will inevitably regress. The body, heart and mind of man need work and so imperative is that need that if, for whatever reason, a person has no personal work in his life he loses the true path and is faced with two others, both equally ruinous: the path of incurable discontent with life, of gloomy apathy and utter boredom, and the path of wilful, imperceptible self-destruction down which a person rapidly descends to the level of childish whims or animal gratifications. People on both these paths lead a living death, because work – personal, free work – is life.

Ushinsky's life is a wonderful example of work conceived in this fashion, fully devoted to the education of the younger generation and to a better preparation of those entrusted with this task. Such education is serious. It allows humour, but never superficiality. Ushinsky has noble educational goals, intended to elevate the people. He is trying to find a solid, scientific method, while respecting fully the child's soul and also the nation's spirit. He is aware of the fact that if education is

to give man happiness, it must prepare him for a life filled with work. That is the legacy of the educational wisdom for which Ushinsky is not merely a dead classical author, but in many respects a living teacher.

Ushinsky's memory was highly esteemed in the former USSR. In 1946, on the occasion of the seventy-fifth anniversary of his death, a Ushinsky silver medal was created as an award of the highest educational honour to the most deserving teachers and educationists.

It would be appropriate to close this review with the words of Ushinsky's devoted disciple E. N. Vodovozovova which she addressed in the spirit of his educational bequest to Russian women teachers prior to the October Revolution:

> In the words of Ushinsky, 'all have a duty to contribute their work, knowledge and talents to the people, and the period of liberation that is beginning imposes on Russian women the special duty of emancipating themselves from the prejudices that bear especially on them. Bringing up the young is a great and noble task, but one that is also extremely difficult and complex. A woman can properly accomplish it only if she has armed herself with sound knowledge. Consequently, women, as well as men, should receive higher education'.

Ushinsky's works are an inspiration for the ideas which even now, towards the end of the twentieth century, are in many respects for a number of regions of the world still more of a programme than a reality.

Notes

1. This article was first published in *Prospects*, Vol. 14, No. 1, 1984.
2. Profiles of Comenius, Diesterweg, Fröbel, Locke, Makarenko, Montessori, Pestalozzi and Rousseau appear in this series of '100 Thinkers on Education'.
3. A profile of Leo Tolstoy appears in this series of '100 Thinkers on Education'.

Further reading

An extensive bibliography of the works of K. D. Ushinsky can be found in:

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Other useful sources are:

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DMITRY UZNADZE[1]

(1886–1950)

Georgy Ketchuashvili

Dmitry Nikolaevich Uznadze was a classic Soviet psychologist, one of the most outstanding figures in Georgian cultural history during the first half of the twentieth century. His name is linked with the establishment of the renowned Georgian school of psychology. The original theory developed by him over half a century ago, the psychology of set (*Einstellung* in German; *attitude* in French) is an important achievement of modern psychological science. In the words of the psychologist N. O'Connor, 'Soviet psychology is represented in the universal treasury of science by the names of Pavlov and Vygotsky and by the Georgian school of psychology that grew out of the work of Dmitry Uznadze.'[2]

Uznadze's ideas were far in advance of his time. A new understanding of how action is rooted in the personality and of how behaviour is regulated, the discovery of their psychological dimension and the establishment of an original method for research into unconscious forms of mental activity marked the beginning of a new and remarkably promising stage on the road to a knowledge of mental processes.

Uznadze's special place in the cultural history of the Georgian people is also connected with his contribution to the reform of the education system in Georgia after the October Revolution, and with the founding of the national university in Tbilisi in 1918.

His life

Dmitry Uznadze was born in 1886 in a peasant family in the village of Sakar, which lay in the Province of Kutaisi (western Georgia). His parents accustomed their children to work from an early age, setting for them an example of mutual respect and high moral character. In 1896, Uznadze entered Kutaisi high school, and from the outset showed himself to be a capable and diligent pupil. He was expelled from the school for taking part in the 1905 revolution.

In the same year he left to continue his studies in Switzerland and then in Germany, where he entered the philosophy faculty of Leipzig University. In Leipzig at that time philosophy and psychology were taught by one of the founders of experimental psychology and the creator of the world's first psychological laboratory, Wilhelm Wundt (1832-1920). Many leading European and American psychologists received specialist training from Wundt and later became, like Uznadze, pioneers of experimental psychology in their countries. Such famous scholars as Volkelt, Barth, Spranger and Krueger also lectured in the university at that time. Uznadze attended Wundt's tutorial course, together with Köhler and other subsequently well-known psychologists, and was considered one of the faculty's best students.

It was during his years as a student that he achieved his first success. In 1907, the Academic Council of the Faculty of Philosophy of Leipzig University awarded him a prize as a third-year student for his work on the philosophy of Leibnitz. Uznadze was awarded the title of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Halle for his dissertation entitled 'Vladimir Solovev: His Epistemology and Metaphysics' (1909).[3]

In 1909 Uznadze returned home.[4] During the years 1909 to 1916 he engaged in productive public, educational and scholarly work in the town of Kutaisi, where he taught history in the local high school for boys, psychology and the history of education in the girls' high school, and psychology and logic in the church secondary school for girls. On his initiative a 'Sinatle' girls' school (*sinatle* means 'light') was set up for the first time in Georgia, with teaching conducted in Georgian and in accordance with educational principles developed by Uznadze himself. As a member of the people's university he also delivered many public lectures at the same time.

Uznadze's educational work at this period of his life is worthy of particular mention. His appointment as headmaster of the 'Sinatle' girls' school in 1915 was due chiefly to his generally recognized authority: by then he was already the author of many articles on educational science, philosophy, aesthetics and art, and of several textbooks on ancient history in Georgian. The beginnings of the ideas he later developed[5] can already be seen in these works, particularly in the 'Introduction to Experimental Pedagogy'.

A new stage in his work began when he took up permanent residence in Tbilisi in 1917. He played an active part in organizing the Georgian national university and establishing both the department and laboratory of psychology and education, as well as the Higher Teachers' College. From the outset he delivered the lectures on basic psychology and teacher-education courses at the university.

He would not have been able to carry out his far-reaching plans in the field of psychology if he had not built up a capable academic team. He therefore devoted particular attention to the selection and training of Georgian psychologists. The Soviet Union's first psychology society was formed under his direction by the year 1927.

Uznadze was the author of the first university textbooks and systematic courses in the Georgian language on various branches of psychology. In addition to his aforementioned 'Introduction to Experimental Pedagogy', these works include *The Foundations of Experimental Psychology* (1925); *Paedology* (1933); *General Psychology* (1940); and *Child Psychology* (1947). On his initiative and under his direct supervision psychological research in Georgia also developed in other research institutions specializing in educational science, psychological testing and neuropsychiatry. The work of these scientific centres proved so productive that when the Georgian Academy of Sciences was founded in 1941 all the requirements were already present for the establishment under its auspices of a scientific institute for psychological research. Uznadze became the institute's first director and also the head of the department of psychology of Tbilisi University, holding the two posts until his death on 12 October 1950.

His philosophical views

The content of Uznadze's philosophical research was greatly influenced by the epistemology of the founder of Russian religious idealism, Vladimir Solovev (1853-1900). As E. Kodua, who has carried out research on Uznadze's philosophical works, has pointed out, it is a great deal easier to comprehend Solovev's philosophy today than in its early years: the intervening period has clearly highlighted the areas in which Solovev's metaphysics influenced later philosophical systems.[6] The young Uznadze, starting out on his career, correctly gauged its humanistic emphasis. The question of the meaning and purpose of human existence that subsequently became a major theme in his own research runs through all Solovev's philosophical and artistic writings and social commentary, clearly as a result of the influence of Dostoevsky.

In his dissertation on Solovev's philosophical system, Uznadze described the national roots of the former's philosophical creativity and attempted to identify its personal, subjective origins, in the belief that every philosopher weaves his own ego into his teachings and that every doctrine is a portrait of the thinker who originated it.[7]

After returning home, Uznadze spent some time continuing to work out problems he had encountered during his research on Solovev's philosophical system. Many of his publications from this period are concerned with the meaning of human life and of the nation as a whole and with the ideas of good and evil, life and death.[8] In these studies he attempts to identify common ground in such apparently diverse subjects as philosophy and poetry, which converge and meet, in his view, precisely in their treatment of the meaning of existence. The affinity between philosophy and poetry 'was the point of departure for a philosophy of life that later found a sequel in existentialism'.[9] Uznadze's merit was not only to establish a philosophical basis for their affinity but to construct a system of proofs based on poetry, particularly the poetry of the Georgian poets, including Baratashvili and Chavchavadze.[10]

For Uznadze the meaning of existence has as its domain people's actions and socially oriented life – hence his description of humankind's activity in the past as the laying of the first stones in the foundation of the edifice called 'culture'; it was the duty of the present generation to carry on building that edifice. He saw the construction of culture as the principal purpose of *Homo sapiens* and believed that it was chiefly those who dedicated their lives to that common task who remained in the memory of humankind. In his view, the quest for individual happiness and prosperity could not form the real meaning of life. For Uznadze the meaning of existence was to be found on a much higher plane: in culture. Only 'cultural creation' could provide our lives with a meaning.

In defining the meaning of life Uznadze separated its socio-cultural aspect, that is to say the meaning of life of an entire united people or nation, from its 'socio-individual' aspect, which he considered to be the meaning of life for the individual. In the first case, the subject of the meaning of life was a specific nation. The subject in the second case was the individual as a participant in the culture of the people. According to Uznadze the meaning of life for an individual was measured by his or her creative contribution to the transformation and humanization of nature and the establishment of the manufactured world of culture. In this constructive activity he perceived the vocation of *Homo sapiens*, the meaning of life for the individual, and also the meaning of the life of each nation, measured by its contribution to the culture of humankind.

Uznadze linked not only the meaning of life but also the question of death with that of the human vocation. The denial of death and assertion of life acquired meaning through the individual's role as a member of human society and a representative of his or her people. Through unity with that people and by identifying personal interests with those of everybody, the individual realized the meaning of his or her existence and overcame the fear of death. On the basis of that understanding of the meaning of existence, Uznadze condemned all attempts by one people to assimilate another, believing that any such assimilation, and the artificial, enforced intermixing of peoples, ran counter to the meaning of existence both for individuals and for the nation as a whole and was tantamount to destruction of the nation. On the other hand, the meaning of life, which involved the satisfaction of the people's needs, could be realized only on the basis of harmony between different peoples. None the less, when the interests of a people had to be defended the voluntary sacrifice of the individual was fully justified as that was also one way of realizing the meaning of human existence.

Uznadze devoted a considerable amount of attention in his philosophical discourses to the nature of poetry and art as a whole, believing contemporary poetry to be an expression in artistic images of the philosophical question of the meaning of existence. In his view, the difference between philosophy and art was primarily that the former comprehended truth through logic; the latter through artistic imagery.

He believed that the true philosopher and the true artist were united by suffering and by an insuperable urge to solve the secret challenge of life. What

was accomplished in philosophy by logical thought was achieved in art through form, as the outlook of the artist was expressed through form and fulfilled through experience on the basis of instinct and intuition.

Unfortunately, we cannot provide here a fuller exposition of Uznadze's philosophical views on existence and the meaning of life, his understanding of art and the various qualities of existence (fear, death, good, evil, etc.) which, in general, form a reasonably coherent system.

Another area of his philosophical work during this period involved problems bordering on psychology. In his study of Solovev's philosophy he had already drawn attention to the question of the unconscious as one of the first states of consciousness: he looked into this subject in considerably greater depth in his works on the philosophy of Leibnitz and Bergson.[11]

Uznadze's study of Leibnitz's concept of petites perceptions and of Bergson's intuitionism and anti-intellectualism, which constituted the essence of his doctrine of the unconscious, was central to the development of the future theory of set. As A. S. Prangishvili, one of his pupils and followers, noted, many major strands of modern psychological science (the psychology of the individual, the genesis of consciousness, the unconscious mind, etc.) were delimited in the course of the critique of philosophical doctrines that was the subject of Uznadze's scholarly research.[12]

His views on education

The humanistic orientation of Uznadze's world-view shines through just as brightly in his work as that of a theorist and a practitioner of education. During his period in Kutaisi, his conception of education was formed and put into practice at the 'Sinatle' girls' school mentioned above, which was the first school for a century to teach in Georgian. In the report he submitted to the board of the 'Sinatle' society in 1916 he formulated general educational principles for the organization of education.[13] Much earlier he had already published a number of educational articles containing an original presentation and discussion of educational questions connected with the development of children in relation to age, as well as his main work on experimental pedagogy (1912).[14]

Uznadze maintained an almost lifelong interest in educational science, and during his stay in Tbilisi this developed into an interest in child and educational psychology. He based his educational work mainly on the ideas and findings derived from critical analysis of the experimental pedagogy prevailing at that time in the West and in Russia. He was attracted principally by the fact that it was 'a system involving only operations based on a detailed knowledge of the child's scientifically demonstrated psychological traits'.[15] In his view, experimental pedagogy helped to transform 'strivings of a conscious nature' into part of 'the personal aspirations of the child'.[16]

Uznadze saw the main task of the 'Sinatle' school as being the organization of optimal conditions for the all-round development of children's capabilities. On

the basis of his dominating idea that the creation of culture formed the principal meaning of human life and that the will was the main motive force of creativity, Uznadze took the view that a school's first aim should be to prepare a person for life through the development of his or her will. Schools should help to raise 'active, strong-willed people'.[17]

This insistence on such a targeted approach was undoubtedly new to Georgian pedagogy. And, as the will 'is capable not only of contributing to the enrichment of cultural life but also of being the instrument of its destruction', Uznadze held that the principal task of teaching at school was the inculcation of a 'moral and social will'. For that reason the 'Sinatle' school paid great attention to the inculcation of initiative and boldness and to school self-government (in this Uznadze played a pioneering role in Georgia) as one of the most important means of turning out active pupils with a conscious sense of discipline.

The process of moral education in Uznadze's school was based on the absorption of moral categories through understanding, reinforced by powerful feelings that transformed those categories into a moral force and induced the pupils to act in a given direction. In this connection he attached considerable importance to literature and history and, in the senior classes, to ethics and also physical education; for Uznadze 'there is nothing like physical exercise for strengthening bold and rapid decision-making'.[18] He considered basic health education to be the culmination of concern for physical health.

Uznadze assigned to aesthetic education a place of major importance in the formation of the 'ideally educated individual', thus departing from the traditional curriculum, based on intellectual, moral and physical training. Drawing and music were also harnessed to this end, as was literature. There was a girls' choir, and needlework was also practised. The school also did not overlook the educational value of play, a form of human behaviour to which Uznadze attached particular importance. It is worth while to restate in this connection that he was the author of an original theory of play based on the concept of 'functional tendency'.

In keeping with his educational ideas about preparation for real life, Uznadze was a consistent opponent of early specialization, arguing for a fully logical selection of instructional content on the basis of its educational value.[19] Much later on, in his work on forms of behaviour, he was to write that 'school is neither a playground nor a factory where specific works must be turned out by means of human labour and where, consequently, only those who have already developed the force required are selected for work'. We can see clearly in this statement the principles on which the content and methods of schoolwork should be based. When society develops a specific need, for example, when electric machines are required, it accordingly sets about building fully equipped factories and, in the most efficient manner possible, recruits staff to work in them who have been trained to produce those machines. Teaching is a different matter. Its main goal is the development of young people's capabilities, which must therefore be taken into account in determining the content and methods of instruction

at any given time. In other words, the latter must be justified in terms of their educational value. Productive work must be organized on the basis of psychological tests, whereas the content and organization of productive instruction must be justified in educational terms.[20]

For Uznadze, the acme of educational wisdom resided in the achievement of maximum intellectual and spiritual development for a minimum material outlay. He made a special study of the utility of various disciplines and of their quantitative aspect, defining precisely their educational function and linking the study of each subject to psychological characteristics and particularly age-related thinking patterns. In his view the main purpose of providing instruction was not so much to impart knowledge but rather 'to expand and develop the mind of the child'.[21] Consequently, instruction had to be structured in accordance with thinking processes. In Uznadze's view, one of the most important goals of school education was to teach children to take an independent, creative approach to their studies.

From the outset he embraced the psychological fact that a thought is usually sparked off by the observation of a problem. Later, with the introduction of the concept of *ob'ektivizacija* (objectification) into psychology, he attempted to define more precisely the sources of human thought.

Uznadze's view on the use of visual methods as an educational principle are highly interesting. His concept of 'intense visual methods' involves 'not only a visual acquaintance with the subject but also observation of its workings and its relation to other subjects. Manual work related to the subject-matter would be of the greatest possible assistance in achieving this goal.'[22]

The rule adopted for tests in the 'Sinatle' school is also worth noting. Its purpose was to develop a habit of critical thinking and independent evaluation – another innovation for Georgian education of the day. Under this rule pupils were first of all given an opportunity to correct their own mistakes.

The didactic principle of the lasting acquisition of knowledge and skills was related in the school to the psychological principles governing instruction (development of the memory, ınterest and attention, fatigue, etc.). Under Uznadze, the process of instruction was based on activity and awareness as required by the classical writers on education – including Comenius, Rousseau, Pestalozzi and Ushinsky – instead of the largely mechanical assimilation and mindless cramming methods of the old school.

Uznadze connected the implementation of educational ideas closely with the conscious creation of an edifying atmosphere in the school. In his view, the teaching staff needed 'to believe firmly that children's hearts and minds should be open to whatever was presented to them. The atmosphere should be founded on trust and love. This is an old truth, but there are major obstacles on the way towards making it a reality.'[23]

It was an awareness of the need for this sort of atmosphere that led him to reject marking systems, which in his view were always subjective.[24]

'Sinatle' was therefore a new, progressive type of school without precedent in Georgia. The innovation of its founder was that the entire process of education and instruction in the school took account of the psychology of children and progressive teaching experience. It was also geared to the development of an all-round personality.

The psychological theory

Psychology occupied a central position in Uznadze's scientific work during his second period of residence in Tbilisi. His theory of set, with its experimental basis, made a major contribution to the science of psychology. He was also responsible for a number of outstanding studies on the psychology of thought and speech, perception, attention and the will, and for works in the field of differential genetic psychology, the psychology of labour and the psychology of art.

As we have already seen, the origins of the set theory may be discerned in both his philosophical and his educational writings. It was based on a deep analysis of the causes of the crisis in the science of psychology that erupted in the 1920s and on a resolute review of the underlying methodological principles or postulates of classical psychology. As Asmolov wrote,

> Only a review of the very foundations of psychology could eliminate the obstacles in its path . . . That step was taken by Uznadze, who, after conducting a methodological analysis of the foundations . . . of psychology, singled out the postulate of immediacy, which was a premise of all traditional psychology.[25]

Uznadze demonstrated that one of the main reasons for the crisis was the dogmatically held view that mental processes were a form of reality operating purely in accordance with its own internal laws. That view was analogous to the 'principle of closed causality' in the physical world, according to which the cause of a physical phenomenon was to be found in the physical world and interaction between a physical phenomenon and its physical environment required no mediating link. In just the same way classical psychology saw in the psyche alone the first cause of psychological phenomena and all changes in such phenomena. On this model facts testifying to a certain correspondence between psychological and physical processes were also interpreted in the spirit of the principle of immediacy, the physical process being the direct cause of corresponding psychological processes. In psychological terms, this view implied rejection of the real living personality, the subject of action, and identification of the self with consciousness – and sometimes, as Freud maintained, with the unconscious.

In this connection, Uznadze wrote that

> the question of psychological causality must be answered in such a way that psychology becomes the psychology of the real, living, active person. This means that the concept of the subject must also have its proper place in psychology. It must indeed underpin the entire discipline, together with other equally important concepts. The psychology of abs-

tract functions without a subject must give place to the psychology of the active subject, the operative personality.[26]

A distinguishing feature of Uznadze's philosophy was his understanding of the object of the mind and, accordingly, of the nature of psychological mechanisms. In his article 'Impersonalia',[27] written in 1923, he suggested that the laws of the object determined and controlled the processes of human consciousness: the object 'migrates' as it were into the subject, assuming the latter's state, and organizes the processes of consciousness in accordance with the trans-subjective object. Although empirical evidence in support of this idea was absent at the time, the essential principle underpinning Uznadze's subsequent theory was really formulated then.

Uznadze discovered the path to the solution of a problem that was of prime importance in psychology – the relationship between physical and mental processes – in their dialectical unity. In his view an explanation of psychological reality should be sought in the history of the development of the mind rather than in bio-physiological processes (although the mind is also a product of the brain). 'Psychology,' he wrote, 'can fulfil its explanatory mission properly only if research is based on the idea that our consciousness is determined by social and historical factors'.[28]

The key task of psychology – to explain psychological reality on the basis of developmental principles – remained unsolved within the traditional framework. It was taken for granted that there could not be an early stage in the development of consciousness. Therefore, the question of which stages preceded consciousness and how the transition to active consciousness occurred was never posed. Uznadze drew particular attention to the development of the mind and also to the stages preceding the emergence of consciousness. As consciousness was the highest form of mental development it had to be preceded by early, preconscious, forms of development. The shared and also the distinctive features of the conscious and the preconscious mind had to be established. Uznadze investigated this question at an operational level. In his view the most basic feature of the mind was the reflection of reality and the capacity to produce suitable behaviour on the basis of that reality.

Uznadze attempted to identify the psychological mechanism determining the activity of the subject in the initial stage of mental development, at the very time when the mind was formed. He held that any specific activity necessarily presupposed two factors: a subjective factor (need) and an objective factor (a situation in which that need was fulfilled). In every single instance the influence of the object depended on the need of the subject. The object could not in itself explain any specific change it brought about in the subject. In the eloquent words of D. I. Ramishvili, 'The properties of the colour red cannot in themselves explain why it produces the effect of salivation and, in general, a readiness to take food. Only the existence of a need and the history of its formation, of the satisfaction of that need by the subject, enable us to understand a particular

reaction'.[29] But a need can explain a specific effect of the object on the subject only because in Uznadze's theory of set the need itself is perceived as the product of the object's influence imprinted many times over.

Thus, in set theory the stimulus that activates a living being is in each and every case a need, but the nature of the activity is determined by the actual situation. The combination of these two factors induces in a living being a general change that is expressed in a readiness to take appropriate action. This state of readiness mobilizes all the subject's capabilities for meeting the challenge before him or her and anticipates the development of a process of activity. This is the set. For Uznadze, the set is a reality that is far removed from any opposition between the subjective and the objective. Uznadze's set mediated the relationship not only between the physical and the psychological but also between psychological processes.

Uznadze's original method based on the artificial inducing of sets provides the opportunity for accurate, objective experimental research on the unconscious state and for study of the set through its role in the process of illusory (erroneous) perception that accompanies its apparition and extinction.

The basic method for research on sets introduced by Uznadze is as follows: a need is engendered in the subject to perform a given task. For example, the subject may be asked to compare two balls placed simultaneously in his or her hand and say which is the larger. The balls are presented several (ten to fifteen) times so that the set or disposition (to identify the big one and the small one) induced on each occasion becomes sufficiently well reinforced (these are set-inducing tests), after which – say the sixteenth time – the original balls of different sizes are replaced by two of identical size, although the subject is still asked to compare their sizes. This test usually reveals that the subject has acquired a fixed set corresponding to the previous tests and now judges one of the two equal-sized balls to be 'larger' or 'smaller'. The set-inducing tests have created a state producing the illusionary perception that equal-sized balls are of different sizes. In Uznadze's view this state is nothing other than a disposition towards a specific activity.

Uznadze and his students discovered many more illusions. It was established, in particular, that the illusory perception of weight considered by scientists for a half a century to be a peripheral phenomenon could actually be explained as being caused by set and was a reflection of the subject's integrated-personality state. Among similar freshly discovered illusory effects were that of volume in the tactile and visual domains, that of pressure, auditory illusion, that of illumination and that of quantity.

In the course of their experimental research Uznadze and his pupils identified a number of characteristics of set. For example, a set established in one domain also manifests itself in other domains. For instance, after set-inducing tests requiring subjects to compare large and small rings by touch, they visually perceived equal-sized rings as unequal. Summing up the results of these experiments, Uznadze wrote: 'We can conclude that a set is not a partial psychological

phenomenon but something integral characterizing, as it were, the personal state of the subject'. The set as a disposition to act is consequently an integrated-personality state and not some kind of partial psychological process. This is what distinguishes Uznadze's conception of the set from its treatment in traditional psychology.

Moreover, according to Uznadze's conception, sets are also a characteristic of animals. The ability to react to influences from the external world, chiefly through a set, that is to say 'an integral modification of the subject', is a primary characteristic of an organism: it is the most primitive form of reaction by an organism to the influence of the external environment. But, in animals, sets are much less largely differentiated than in human beings. The fact that the set as an integral dynamic state mediates the animal's reaction to the influence of the external world does not mean, however, that the behaviour of animals and humans may be assigned to the same stage of development or that they are similarly determined. In the 1940s, Uznadze made a special study of the specific features of human behaviour that had social causes. The set theory also proved extremely productive in this context. His identification of the second level of behaviour, the level of 'objectification', which led to a new stage in the development of set theory, belongs to this period.

What is the identifying feature of human action? It resides primarily in the fact that human beings do not act only on impulse like animals but at will, in accordance with their judgement. This specifically human level Uznadze referred to as 'the second level' of the mind, i.e. its higher level. It is reached through a specific act, which Uznadze refers to as 'objectification', whereby the subject singles out an object in the external world. Before reacting to the object the subject perceives it as an object of cognition. He or she normally switches to action at the second level of speech when the smooth process of habitual forms of behaviour at the 'first level', which do not require the participation of the consciousness, runs into difficulties and encounters an obstacle. There may actually be spoken questions ('What's happening?' 'What is it?') or simply astonishment. The subject then becomes aware of switching to the second theoretical level of action, the situation is objectified and the problem identified. He or she objectifies his or her activity, 'mobilizes' himself or herself, and 'prepares' for the next action. The set is established on the basis of objectified content.

Of the fundamental significance of the concept of objectification for theoretical psychology the psychologist K.A. Abul'khanova-Slavskaja wrote the following:

> The brilliant revolution in determining relationships brought about by Uznadze in his conception of objectification transferred the determination of action from the needs of the subject's ego to the needs of other people. Linked with this is a particular quality of the subject of the action, which is a methodological starting-point for psychology. Through objectification the action of the subject and the determined nature of his or her action are linked by the needs of other people.[30]

The intensive research work on the psychology of the personality, carried out by Uznadze's school chiefly in the light of the set concept and objectification, gave rise to a particular system of psychology incorporating not only general and genetic (animal and child) psychology but also differential and pathological set psychology.

In the above-mentioned basic monograph on the psychology of set published in 1966 in the United States of America,[31] Uznadze referred in broad terms to three basic personality types: dynamic (balanced, well-adapted people); static (behaviour that is not impulsive but, on the contrary, entirely based on objectification and volition and typified by constant reflection and uncertainty); and variable (people with strong desires, action-oriented but with a conflictual character structure), consisting of two groups: stable and unstable. He presented experimental data showing the type of set characteristic of each of these categories of individual.[32]

Uznadze's approach to research on the personality as an integrated whole also proved to be of great interest to modern psychology. Luciano Mecacci chose for the epigraph to a study he published in the 1970s the following words by Uznadze:

> It is the task of our science especially to consider the psychological analysis of human behaviour and the laws governing it. A view of human psychological activity that sees it as incorporating the activity of the subject as a whole assumes that psychology should investigate primarily the subject, the personality as a whole rather than individual acts of mental activity.[33]

In a whole series of works Uznadze made a fundamental contribution to research on many important questions in psychology. These works include: 'The Psychological Basis of Designation' (1923), which inspired a stream of studies in the USSR and abroad;[34] 'Understanding Meaning' (1927);[35] 'Conceptualization at the Preschool Age' (1929),[36] which was first published in German; 'Topical Issues and the Theoretical Basis of Occupational Psychology' (1933);[37] 'The Illusion of the Rate of Movement' (1940);[38] 'Forms of Human Behaviour' (1941);[39] 'Objectification' (1948).[40]

Uznadze was also the forefather of applied psychology in Georgia. Several psychological-testing laboratories were opened under his direct supervision, as were laboratories for the study of child psychology and educational psychology. This enabled him to develop a conception of the 'periodization' of child development based on an understanding of 'the age environment', an original theory of play, his theory of occupational psychodiagnosis, etc.

Interest in Uznadze's scientific heritage has grown immeasurably in recent times. The effective use of set theory in social psychology,[41] medical psychology,[42] work psychology and ergonomics[43] provide an indication of how productive his ideas have been. The holding of an international symposium in Tbilisi in 1979 on the unconscious was just one further indication of the wide recognition accorded to Uznadze's scientific legacy.[44] Today many psychologists both in the

Commonwealth of Independent States and abroad (including Hungary, Germany, Canada, United States of America, Japan) are hard at work on issues relating to the psychology of set. After the appearance of a monograph by the prominent Swiss psychologist Jean Piaget concerning experimental research on set, the illusion identified in the visual sphere entered psychological scientific terminology as 'the Uznadze effect'.[45]

As a genuinely classic legacy, Uznadze's works have not yet been fully explored. In all probability several generations of scientists will be needed to comprehend, study and develop the ideas of the great psychologist.

Notes

1. This article was first published in *Prospects*, Vol. 21, No. 4, 1991 – Ed.
2. N. O'Connor, Editor's introduction in N. O'Connor (ed.), *Present-day Russian Psychology*, Oxford, Pergamon Press, 1966.
3. D. Uznadze, 'Wladimir Solowiew: Seine Erkenntnistheorie und Metaphysik' [Vladimir Soloviev: His Epistemology and Metaphysics], Halle, 1909, 168 pp. (Doctoral disseration.)
4. As foreign university degrees were not officially recognized in Russia at that time, Uznadze took the examinations at the History and Philology Department of Kharkov University in 1910-13 as an external student, gaining a first-level diploma.
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JOSÉ PEDRO VARELA

(1845–79)

Marta Demarchi and Hugo Rodríguez

In the beginning was democracy

In 1830, the Eastern Republic of Uruguay adopted its first Constitution as an independent country. Starting from that year, there were three constitutional presidencies, notwithstanding the disturbances they had to face. These unstable presidencies were followed by eleven years of war.

By 1830, the country had only 74,000 inhabitants. In 1852, after these eleven years of war, the first national census recorded almost 132,000. Basically, the countryside had been left deserted by a great wave of migration to Brazil and Argentina. New migrants made up a little more than one-fifth of the population. The 1860 census recorded 221,248 inhabitants, 35 per cent of whom were foreigners. In Montevideo itself, almost half of the population was foreign (48 per cent).

The immigrant population played a very important role in shaping political and social thought in Uruguay. The presence of these people not only affected demography but also contributed new ideas, customs and world-views. This was to be particularly evident in what was subsequently to be called the religious issue.

The personal aspirations of the first political leaders, the activity of the political parties, headed by those same leaders, and their confrontations, led to long periods of disturbance and disorder. A natural result of this institutional instability was meagre economic development and even impoverishment. During this period marked by chaotic situations, the European powers kept a watchful eye on the unfolding of events, while the cultured, educated minority gradually became Europeanized.

Uruguay at that time had an institutional structure which was cast in the most distinguished moulds of the political thought of the day. But social practices were not fashioned by those moulds. The new republic did not have the republicans needed to make it credible. It seemed impossible to modernize the country

under such circumstances. This was the situation confronting José Pedro Varela when he set himself the task of establishing a common system of education. It was clearly on the basis of mass education that the democratic system enshrined in the Constitution could be made viable.

> Under a despotic government, the human faculties are maimed and paralysed. In a republic, they grow with intense force and are created with unstoppable momentum. . . . Hence, the ignorance of the people under a despotic government leads to disgrace, decline and impotence, but is not a threat; whereas ignorance under a republican government is a constant threat and an imminent peril. . . . Ignorance under despotism produces a sick state of affairs which Alfieri called a soulless existence; under a republic it spawns riots, demonstrations, endless uprisings, lawlessness, perversion of institutions, . . . with chaos masquerading under the names and the ostensible structures of free institutions.

He goes on to add:

> A democratic and republican government is founded on the assumption that the people have the necessary abilities to govern themselves . . . Universal suffrage presupposes universal awareness, and universal awareness presupposes an[d] requires universal education. Without it, the republic falls apart and democracy becomes impossible.[1]

A man of his time

To give the exact measure of Varela on the basis of the information customarily used by biographers would be pointless. Such an attempt would merely reveal that he was the son of a business family, himself a businessman, a juvenile poet and a journalist, who subsequently became a politician and an educational reformer thanks to his fortunate acquaintance with a number of prominent contemporary figures (Sarmiento, Horace Mann and Victor Hugo).

But his intellectual training and personal life story followed a unique path.

He was born on 19 March 1845 in the besieged city of Montevideo. The country was experiencing what was known as the 'Great War'. In a sense, it was a civil war which pitted some Uruguayans against others, the besieged against the besiegers. But it was also much more than this. It was a regional conflict involving neighbouring countries, their governments and their armies. However, it also involved the major European powers. In other words, it was a French and British war as well, with the European political centres deciding at one time on the direct participation of Garibaldi, who was subsequently destined to play a leading role in achieving Italian unity. Uruguay was, perhaps as at no other period in its history, the focus of international attention.

It should be added that Argentinian immigrants, the foremost exponents of the intellectual movement in their country and persecuted by the regime of Juan Manuel de Rosas, found refuge in the besieged city. Over and above the belligerant confrontation, the 'Great War' provided a context for fruitful ideological debate.

This was the background against which the Varela family joined forces with the defenders – the besieged. In the midst of the war, Varela's father translated a French work on the proper teaching of the mother tongue. We believe that these are significant clues to the social and family climate, imbued with political and cultural considerations, in which Varela began his training.

In 1865, José Varela began to publish a series of polemical articles on religion in the *Revista literaria* [Literary Review]. In that same year and in the same journal, he published an article on the gauchos, which already revealed the influence of Sarmiento that would later be explicitly acknowledged. Adopting a sociological approach, he analysed one (but not the sole) cause of moral and material stagnation:

> We do not need an excessively large population; what we need is an enlightened population. The day when our gauchos can read and write, and think, our political convulsions may cease. It is through the education of the people that we can arrive at peace, progress and an end to gauchos. Then, ennobled by labour, the country-dweller who is today stupefied with idleness will convert his horse, today an element of primitive living, into an element of progress and use it to plough the furrow that will bring productivity to the land which until today has remained barren; and the immense national wealth, worked by the energy of the labouring and enlightened people, will build up the vast pyramid of material progress. The enlightenment of the people is the true driving force of progress.[2]

If we refer exclusively to this passage, we find a Varela who is hostile to revolutions. And, in one sense of the word, this could be so. He was opposed to the savage uprisings in which the leaders used popular support fuelled by ignorance to further their interests. But it is useful to remember that in that same year and in the same journal, he equated progress with genuine revolutions:

> Battles of the mind, battles which are slow but tenacious, and which take place in the midst of apparent peace and tranquillity, conquer the moral world; and then comes the day when new ideas start teeming in every head, striving to supersede the errors and crimes of the past. That is when the resistance of the past gives rise to the revolution, but we should not blame it for the blood and sacrifices that it costs the world; we should blame, rather, the despotism and crime which try to stem the civilizing tide of progress.[3]

The *Revista literaria*, which had in Varela one of its most distinguished contributors, ceased publication in May 1866. A short time previously, in December 1865, Varela had handed in his resignation because the editor had deleted a number of paragraphs from one of his articles. The review practically went out of existence with the departure of Varela. Proof was furnished of his resolute support for the principle of the freedom of the press.

Nevertheless, he promptly resumed his work as a publicist. In 1866, he wrote for the newspaper *El siglo* [The Century], in whose pages he took sides in the controversy over the life and work of the Chilean Francisco Bilbao, a forceful thinker who had a decisive influence on his philosophical development. Such were the features of Varela's rationalist stage. It was through Bilbao that he was

influenced by the Christian rationalist thinkers Lamenais, Michelet, Quinet and Renan. They make up the French side of Varela's rationalist thought. In the first of these articles, 'Francisco Bilbao y el catolicismo' [Francisco Bilbao and Catholicism], he juxtaposes the teaching and life of Bilbao with the intolerant practices of Catholic clericalism:

> The enemies of new ideas, representatives of a dreary past who none the less want to appropriate all the progress made in the world, take pleasure in wounding one by one all the men who have fought and are fighting to break some of the links in the dreadful chain of unfounded fears. . . . Catholic doctrine is bad; it is disastrous; but the Catholic priest who sacrifices himself and dies for it is noble and worthy of consideration and respect. Such is the rationalist doctrine, and that is what we would ask of Catholicism if the petty circle of Catholic beliefs allowed its followers to understand the greatness of tolerance.[4]

In the second article, the title of which was 'La iglesia católica y la sociedad moderna' [The Catholic Church and Modern Society], he declared, among other things:

> Democracy is the modern ideal. The kingdom of heaven has come down to earth. A God who, like Jupiter, will not budge from his throne and remains unmoved by the joys and sorrows of humankind, is no longer enough for human activity. What is needed is a God incarnate in everyone, who lives and throbs with the heart of the people. Not a God of death but a God of life. . . . We do not profess any religion, but follow the religion of the future with our gaze fixed on the star of justice lighting our way; we shall move steadily forward, preparing for the establishment of the democracy in which the people, having themselves become priests and kings, will have freedom as their guide and their God.[5]

At the end of this phase of metaphysical rationalist consolidation, his concern for the people and their education, for democracy and for freedom in all spheres was clearly mapped out, together with his reproach of Catholicism.

The year 1867, in which he gained experience through travelling to the United States via Europe, added fresh elements to his philosophical education. On his journey he wrote articles for the newspaper *El siglo*. Of his time spent in Europe, he always recalled the interview with Victor Hugo who, twelve years earlier, had gone to the island of Guernsey as a political exile. This is how Varela recounts their conversation:

> 'What is the present state of your country?'
> 'Not very good, sir.'
> 'But you do have freedom of the press?'
> 'Yes, complete freedom!'
> 'Have you a parliament?'
> 'According to our Constitution, we should have, but on the grounds that we are at war with Paraguay, our present Government has not yet constructed the country.'

The dialogue continued, and Varela explained the division between the political parties: 'Wars take place between parties rather than between nations', as a result of the eagerness, according to Varela, to imitate France.

'We are a caricature of France', he added, to which Victor Hugo replied: 'No, you are a caricature when you copy its bad examples; but you are its favourite sons, its heralds in the young America, when you continue the spirit of the revolution.'[6]

From his journey through the United States we are left with his impression of North American education and of the strength of democracy:

> . . . just about anybody can become a candidate for the presidency and aspire to direct the affairs of the country; citizens must know, not just how to read and write but (let us establish the difference) how to think.
>
> The idea generally held by French thinkers responsible for mass education is that it is highly beneficial because the intelligent worker produces more than the ignorant one. The greater the ability, the greater the benefit. . . . The idea of the United States is to exploit all the wealth in the mine. . . . That is why the Americans send their young children to school, their adults to college, their young people to meetings and the press, their men to legislatures and congresses. The plan is one of lifelong work and study, whereby individuals can shine at any age and in any sphere whatsoever.[7]

Varela seems to be talking about a country which has already achieved the modern ideal of lifelong education.

But he also enthusiastically records his impression of the mass education system. This fits in smoothly with the rationalist conceptions which are part and parcel of Francisco Bilbao's thought.

> Its goal is to breathe life into that inert entity known as the masses in Europe; to make of it a harmonious whole which thinks for itself and is conscious of its actions while carrying them out. Once this idea has taken mental root, that is, once freedom has been recognized as the vital principle, the first requirement for bringing about change is the school. From the earliest days of colonization, the school, for the education of future citizens, was built alongside the temple where free thinkers discussed their beliefs. . . . An immense amount of intelligence and money is devoted to them [the schools], the issue of universal schooling being of vital importance in the United States.[8]

It is thus scarcely surprising that the subject of the resources for mass education – the budget – is of crucial importance in Varela's thought.

Varela returned home in August 1868. He had spent more than six months in the United States. With surprising ease, he established connections which gave him quite a detailed knowledge of the political and social life and educational circumstances of this country, and he even published a book of poems there.

The educational debate: the affair of youth

Immediately after his arrival, he began the work of publicising and organization on educational issues. In September 1868, he published an article entitled: 'Don Domingo Sarmiento y la verdadera demagogia' [Domingo Sarmiento and True Demagogy]: 'Writers who are unaware are fit only for peoples who are unaware. We must therefore admit the full extent of our deplorable ignorance. The one true remedy lies in the school. It teaches respect for the law, awareness of right and wrong, virtue and honour.'[9] At this point, it could be said that the campaign for universal education had officially begun.

A few days later, young university students founded the Club Universitario. This was the first time that reflection at university level had led to the creation of an organization, supported by all the lecturers.

Varela placed the subject of education in the wider context of the modernization of the country. He said that his ideas were not original; that they had triumphed thirty years previously in the United States and about ten years previously in most European countries. 'Education is what we really need, but it should be an education diffused through all social classes, bringing light to the darkened consciousness of the people and preparing children to be adults and adults to be citizens.'[10] A monarchy can exist with ignorant people as its subjects; a republic cannot.

> For the law to be obeyed, the people must understand that it is just, and for them to understand that, they must be educated. . . . Most of our political instruments are on a par with the most civilized in the world. Why, then, do we live in chaos in spite of our good laws? Why is it that the great mass of our ignorant and backward population does not know, understand or respect the law? People only willingly obey what they believe to be just.[11]

As we shall see below, Varela proposes in practice a form of egalitarian education, based on sound theoretical premises. This idea is already perceptible in his public speeches in which he claims that the school which is open to all 'has, in democracies, the great advantage of bringing together and blending the social classes. Rich or poor, the children who are educated together in the same classrooms will feel neither contempt nor antipathy for one another.'[12]

He also pointed out that the meeting was a gathering of the converted and of representatives of the cultural élite, and that everything would be different 'if we had been able to meet here with some of the true children of people'.

He called for the co-operation of all in dealing with a problem that affected the nation as a whole: 'A great and noble idea which, as with everything that truly concerns the people, requires the co-operation of everyone without reference to religious conviction or political persuasion.'

But his most fiery appeal was to young people: 'It is to young people that I am speaking: from young people, I expect everything.'[13]

But matters did not come to an end with Varela's speech. The university ceremony mutated into a spontaneous assembly which elected a Provisional Committee. More than 200 participants signed the minutes.

The Committee started work. *El siglo* convened a meeting at which the first differences emerged. Some people thought that it was a mistake to see the school as a panacea. Varela's reply was published in *El siglo*:

> As far as I am concerned, children do not go to school to learn but to acquire the means of learning. The school cannot be a place where children are dumped. Let us educate the people, let us educate the gaucho, but let us not start by telling them something which is by no means certain, namely, that we acknowledge their appreciation of education; for ignorance cannot appreciate education, being itself sterile, static and arrogant.[14]

The first Management Committee was set up in the presence of senior government officials. On that occasion he again explained education's aims and objectives:

> We must raise the status of the teaching profession and expand and improve our schools, and to do this the school must become a fixture, continuous and immutable; the teacher and the pupil, the person teaching and the person learning, must enjoy physical life and mental security from the vicissitudes of our politics. Parents must be persuaded to send their children to school. The children must be persuaded to attend school. We have to make sure that adults and children, present generations and future generations, come to bless education. The Sociedad de Amigos will not set up schools merely in order to bring together hundreds of children, but to elevate and dignify the teacher and the school in the eyes of all. Our mission is one of peace.[15]

The secretary of the Sociedad de Amigos de la Educación Popular [Society of Friends of Universal Education], a journalist and a formidable polemicist, was 23 years old. As well as fighting for mass education, he defended liberty and democracy and raised 'the great issue of modern times', women's rights. Society in general, and the cultural élite in particular, never ceased to be surprised by this young agitator.

Towards the end of 1869, there were fresh disturbances in the country. A few months later, Varela was detained and sent into exile.

In 1871 he founded the review *La paz* [Peace] and, later, *El hijo de la paz* [The Child of Peace]. The names chosen were symbolic. *La paz* reached the country in late 1872. Varela did not see himself as a partisan political activist. He did not see politics as a consciously chosen career. Rather, political circumstances caught him up and carried him along. In 1875 he was a candidate for the Ordinary Tribunal, but he had already obtained other credentials: in 1874 he published his first work of educational theory, *La educación del pueblo* [The Education of the People], and his main preoccupation was thus clearly defined. Meanwhile, the Sociedad de Amigos de la Educación Popular was working tirelessly throughout those years.

Varela's plan: education for equality

In his short but fruitful life Varela wrote two books of educational theory. The first, written in 1874, was *La educación del pueblo* and the second, in 1876, *La legislación escolar* [School Legislation]. But his total output was much greater and included articles, lectures and, above all, his *Annual Reports* as Director-General and National Inspector of Education.

Like every sound educational scheme, it had political and social aspects: initially, democracy was Varela's main focus of concern.

He did not improvise, because he was convinced that education was 'a true science'. To legislate without knowledge of the facts is to legislate in a vacuum, and in order to legislate, one must determine the nature of the educational needs of one's time and one's country. It is obvious that, although he held no public office, he was seeking to influence the educational legislation of his day.

> Laws on education, which are necessary to meet the requirements of our era, our institutions and our country, should fulfil the following conditions: (1) the provision of special subsidies for education in order to shield it from political disturbances and financial crises; (2) the decentralization of government in order to stimulate local interest and activity, and to make the educational authorities and administration more independent . . .; (3) the establishment of a graduated system encompassing nursery schools, primary and secondary schools, teacher-training colleges, and even colleges and universities.[16]

These primary conditions reveal the fundamental ideas underlying his conception of mass education. First of all, independent resources; political disturbances and financial crises were evils that hindered national development. Second, decentralization as a means of enlisting public participation. Thus formulated, both ideas constitute an important criterion of independent educational management. Lastly, the idea of the system, which we shall consider below.

He sets out basic principles governing this system, principles without which the task could not be accomplished. First, education should be compulsory.

> The freedom of the individual, especially of the individual in society, is not unlimited . . . individual freedom has the freedom of other people as its irreducible limit. . . . If the State establishes certain conditions for the exercise of citizenship which can be satisfied only through education, the parents who deprive their child of that education are guilty of an abuse to which the authorities must put a stop . . . in order to defend the rights of the minor which are being ignored . . . and thereby to ensure the protection of society, whose very foundations are being undermined.[17]

Further on, he reiterates: 'The State requires all its citizens to possess certain types of knowledge which are necessary for the exercise of citizenship and, in order to satisfy that requirement, it provides free access for all to educational facilities.'[18]

Varela's preoccupation with democracy deserves emphasis. Under the 1830 Constitution which was then in force, illiterate people had no voting rights. As a result, education was a prerequisite for civic participation.

Moreover, he saw education as one way of ensuring social levelling: free of charge for all children, of all classes and faiths. 'Those who once frequented the same classrooms in which they were equal, and in which they competed according to the same rules, easily become accustomed to seeing one another as equals . . . Free education is thus the most powerful tool with which to shape democratic equality.'[19]

This theory of educational equality did not, however, see the free state schools as schools for the poor. They were schools for each and every child, and both wealthy and poor parents were called upon to send their children to the same common schools. 'Rich or poor, children who are educated together in the same classrooms will feel neither contempt nor dislike for one another.'[20]

In conformity with the prevailing Constitution, the Catholic religion was the official state religion. However, the idea of freedom of worship already existed. Varela, ahead of many thinkers, maintained that the lay school 'should faithfully observe the principle of the separation of church and state.'[21]

What the state school, open to children of all faiths, was to pursue was not a religious goal, but a social one. Secular schooling 'did not belong exclusively to any sect and was, therefore, not atheistic, for atheism was also a religious doctrine.'[22]

Dogmatic education has no place in this egalitarian school. First, because the state, which is not a religious institution, should ensure that justice reigns and not favour any religious community in particular. Second, free state schooling will be upheld by the joint contribution of society, which will comprise believers from all religious communities. 'The education that the state provides and requires is not aimed at integrating the child into this or that religious denomination, but at giving him or her the appropriate training to lead the life of a citizen.'[23]

Varela's popular conceptions have their roots deep in rationalism, especially in the thought of Bilbao. At the time it was reinforced by an incipient positivism, of which Varela himself was a pioneer.

Towards a national education system

Although a national education system seems to be outlined in *La educación del pueblo*, it is developed from the point of view of its management, administration and organization in *La legislación escolar*. The latter work gives us a clear appreciation of the positivist strain in Varela's thought: observe in order to plan ahead, and plan ahead in order to make provision.

The work was sent with a note to the government minister. Unfortunately, the government in question was the military dictatorship of Colonel Lorenzo

Latorre. For a thoroughgoing democrat, this was no minor contradiction and had to be justified:

> The fundamental reason which has induced me to address myself to Your Excellency is recognition of the need to enact laws in order to ensure the proper organization of education in our country. I think that we cannot sensibly expect those laws to be promulgated by future parliaments, whatever their membership, at least if we are to judge the immediate future by our experience of the Republic so far.[24]

The book which contained the Universal Education Bill was not commissioned by any authority, but was produced spontaneously and voluntarily in order to serve the country. It was divided into three parts. The first concerned 'our present situation and its causes'; the second dealt with 'general principles'; and the third with 'applying the principles'. This third part contained Varela's proposed law.

On the subject of the present situation and its causes, he posited a threefold crisis – economic, political and financial – with the last element stemming naturally from the other two. This study implies an assessment of the situation, without which no valid solutions can be put forward. As concerns remedies, he stated clearly:

> Everything is interrelated in the development of social existence, and accordingly it is an illusion to suppose that, in order to bring about radical change, it is enough to strive in a particular direction while other social forces remain inactive or work in a contrary direction. Having recognized this, we shall not make the mistake of attributing to mass education, still less to an education bill, the mysterious power that religious belief attributes to the absolution granted by priests.[25]

With regard to general principles, he turned his attention to State action and local action. He thought that administrative centralization and the imposition of uniform solutions to deal with concrete situations were serious mistakes. 'The democratic element, the people, . . . plays no part in the administration of education . . . consequently, the people do not regard state education as their own work.'[26] A good system of education should combine action by the state with the active and resolute participation of the people. However, state action should not be confused with linking public action to a particular party. On the contrary, the independence of the state authority for education from the rest of the civil service is a *sine qua non* 'without which the education of the people will be subjected to the vicissitudes of political upheavals and will have a fitful, weak and unhealthy existence.'[27]

Varela proposes a state policy transcending party lines. The history of Uruguay is evidence of the abuses of partisan power. 'The result is always that public administration only partially reflects the aspirations of the people, and is based exclusively on factions . . . which never actually represent the whole community.'[28]

The national education system was planned in stages.

Nursery schools. These were for children between the ages of 3 and 6, with play and work activities suited to their age-group and interests. Such schools should satisfy children's need for movement, 'places in which to run, move around, play and, above all, breathe clean air'.

Primary education. This would be compulsory, for children aged 5 to 15. It should be rationally organized and take account of the learning ability of each child. Its aim should be the acquisition of knowledge and use of language, the exercise and nourishment of various skills and abilities, and the acquisition of those ideas and forms of knowledge which will give the child 'food for thought. To learn how to use all the intellectual faculties, in the best possible way, is the primary purpose of cultivating the mind.'[29] Teaching diplomas, graded according to level, were required in order to be employed in these schools.

Secondary education. This level should be concerned with the forms of knowledge which 'are the most necessary in order to meet the demands of adult life'. This means taking into account 'not only the intellectual, moral and physical aspects of individuals but also the society in which they live'.

Teacher training. Varela explains the necessity of this as follows: 'it is impossible to establish good schools without good teachers or to have good teachers without teacher-training colleges. The teacher must have a grounding in the science of education: education presents us with its facts, and they are as numerous and profoundly interesting as the facts of any other science; its facts can be classified and ordered, just like those of chemistry and astronomy.'[30] Varela is forcefully positivist when defining the scientific requirements of the teacher's task. Besides scientific training, the teacher should learn the art of teaching, and for this purpose model colleges, now called training colleges, are required.

Reform or revolution? The problem of method

From his earliest writings, Varela raised the question of method as a very important aspect of any educational activity, and it may even be said that he saw it as a defining characteristic of his overall view of education.

Nevertheless, there is a noticeable difference in emphasis on the subject between his initial, more general, ideas and the assessments of his final years, when he was engaged in the practical and concrete task of creating a new style of primary education for the emergent country.

He states in *La educación del pueblo* that: 'method means the particular way in which that which is to be taught is developed and presented to the intellect. It is merely the external form, whereas the teaching is the substance – but the latter determines the former: hence, the method must adapt itself to what we consider to constitute education.'[31]

The prevailing idea of the aims and objectives of education is probably what determines the choice of methods and, at the same time, their importance in relation to the teaching/learning process. In his connection, he adds:

> If we believe that education consists in communicating a number of facts, and overloading the memory with them, without cultivating the other faculties, then we need pay little attention to method, since we can easily obtain the desired result. But if we consider education to be a powerful aid in developing the life of the mind and an appeal for the active and harmonious exercise of the various faculties and powers that Nature has given us, and if we believe that this progressive development follows a well-defined order and is consistent with certain general and unchanging rules, then the method which we adopt to encourage this process is of the utmost importance.[32]

The question of method will be closely related to the characteristics of the pupils. There is no fixed order of priority valid for all ages if the aim is to cater for the 'development of their threefold nature in mind, body and spirit'.

In line with the trends of his time, he recognized two methods: the analytical and the synthetic. Given that 'in infancy and well into childhood, only the perceptive faculties are used' and that 'logic does not appear until a much later date . . . the analytical method must be used with children, which means pointing at objects and giving definitions as one proceeds; after some time, when analysis has blazed the trail, a synthetic approach may be adopted, bringing together in a harmonious whole the scattered elements that have been floating about on the surface of the mind.'[33]

But alongside the determining factors associated with the characteristics of the learner, those arising from the subject-matter must also be taken into account.

Taking ideas of this kind as his point of departure, Varela refers to the so-called 'object lessons' that had been espoused by some circles in theory, but had not yet been introduced into the classroom on a regular basis. This type of activity basically implied greater emphasis on the tangible world as opposed to abstract speculation unrelated in any immediate or obvious way with reality. Intellectualized education based essentially on the use and abuse of memory invariably tended to underemphasize the practical side of life. In contrast, Varela recommended object lessons based on methods that catered for that dimension. His idea of active education and of showing respect for the interests and aptitudes of children emerges clearly in this context. 'If possible, let them grasp [the object], turn it around and look at it from all angles'.

But it was not simply a matter of the physical activity involved in handling an object: 'it should rely first and foremost on the pupils' exercising their own ability to discover new facts. As a rule, pupils should not be told anything that they can find out for themselves . . . children only learn well what they have learnt through their own efforts.'[34]

At the same time, however, this activity should be conducive to the free exercise of the mental faculties, 'encouraging habits of free speech, ensuring that

all possible explanations of relevance to an object are exhausted without teacher guidance through questions, so that they become accustomed to thinking for themselves without having someone to lead them along the path that their ideas should follow.'[35]

But these ideas were not developed solely in the light of the limitations and potential of primary education. Analysing the situation of university education in his day, he severely criticized the approach adopted in teaching physics, chemistry and zoology 'without a single *piece of equipment* or a single zoological *specimen*'.[36] He found that the experimental sciences were being taught in the same way as speculative philosophy, on the basis of a textbook and theoretical dissertations: 'It is easy to imagine the kind of results such a method will produce.'

To make matters worse, Universidad Mayor took no interest in the actual circumstances of its students and recognized no order or hierarchy in the knowledge imparted. Here was further evidence of disdain for method. As a result, young people were leaving the university with qualifications but without knowledge. Varela stressed the need for knowledge and method to gain access to the field of science.

> As young people study mathematics, physics, chemistry, the natural sciences, they experience an awakening of the urge to satisfy curiosity through inquiry; they acquire the habit of seeing, forming their own ideas, registering the facts they observe, verifying them against their experience and seeking the links connecting them and the laws that they obey.[37]

Taking these ideas as a theoretical framework, Varela worked for practical educational reform. From the earliest years he felt the need to present the country with a progress report, however rudimentary the results.

In the report corresponding to the period from 1 April 1876 to 1 August 1877, he noted that some minor improvements had been made in the public (state) schools, leaving 'the soul, so to speak, of the teaching system in its original state. The old routine continues, the only concern being to convey information, relying on memory alone to the detriment of all the other physical and mental faculties of the child as the means to achieve that end.'[38] Thus far we can say that reform is no more than a lucid plan taking shape. 'Every teacher, especially every old teacher, had a group of well-disposed parents and a staff of supportive students and assistants. Every school was therefore a kind of fortress in which the teacher was entrenched; new methods, new ideas, any attempted change or reform were doomed, drowning in the moats of tradition surrounding the school.' The new school called for the demise of the old, using method as its weapon. 'So the old school had to be liquidated, the old building demolished, the old organization wiped out . . . in a phrase, temporary chaos had to be produced in order to annihilate tradition and make the proposed reform feasible and attainable.'[39]

By 1878, in the space of barely two years, the situation had changed. In early January 1879, the students met with their teachers for fourteen days to

assess their relative progress. In his inaugural speech, Varela said that at the theoretical level there was also room for doubt and discussion

> depending on the angle from which the proceedings are viewed. . . . On coming down to earth, things look different: the facts speak with unquestionable eloquence: like it or not, they are there to be seen and recorded, although they may clash with our opinions or seem absurd. At all events, we are convinced that the facts and practical experience have spoken and decided eloquently in favour of educational reform.[40]

After the public evaluation session, Varela compared the performance of the schools where the new methods had carried the day with those where they had not yet found favour: 'the radical differences between the old and new systems are becoming clear; the new school is a place of life, action, movement, joy, enthusiasm and emulation, while the typical features of the old school are passivity, boredom, aversion from study and from the teacher, intellectual and moral paralysis, a total lack of stimulus, ambition and pleasure.'[41]

The question of method, a recurrent theme in Varela's work, now emerges with greater clarity and emphasis. Reform had taken root and become a reality; the condition of State schools, the methods used, curriculum development and the quality of the instruction imparted to individual children furnished solid proof of the fact that the new systems and methods had ousted the old. Varela prepared a paper for a prize-giving ceremony in which he set forth his idea of method as a more important instrument of educational revolution than reform, however important the latter might be:

> Changing general education systems, promulgating new curricula in keeping with the demands of our time and the society in which we live, adopting textbooks in which the new way of life is depicted instead of keeping the fossilized textbooks of the old school, and changing the procedures for putting knowledge across, are certainly reforms of great importance, but they relate only to instruction, a secondary matter in relative terms since it changes only the outward appearance of schools and communities. If reform stops here, it will turn an ignorant community into an educated one, familiar with what other societies and individuals have done or are doing; but it will have only slightly enhanced people's ability to produce, create and invent. But replacing the old mechanical method by the rational method implies penetrating to the very soul of the school and the people, seeking to change the habits, customs, ideas and aspirations of society as a whole. *Reform* may be and is the process of introducing new systems, new curricula and new textbooks, but *revolution* lies in method. The former changes teaching, the latter education: education – the mould in which the minds and hearts of future generations are cast![42] [Our emphasis.]

From Varela to the future

Varela's strictly educational ideas may be – and in some respects certainly have been – superseded by theoretical advances in response to new circumstances. But

what remains unalterable is the political and social context in which he places mass education.

The concepts of free and egalitarian state education, secularism, the rational method and the independence of education form part of the country's cultural heritage.

Another bequest of the Varela period is the idea of education as a national issue of relevance to all. Since that time, upheavals in the education system have been able to whip up social storms in our country. Although the fact is not always recognized or sufficiently stressed, the progress of national education is inextricably bound up with the fight for democracy.

Notes

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15. Address to the Sociedad de Amigos de la Educación Popular, 10 October 1868.
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JOSÉ VASCONCELOS[1]

(1882–1959)

Rosario Encinas

José Vasconcelos is, without doubt, one of the most controversial figures in the social and political history of Mexico. Although he spent a good part of his life in either voluntary or compulsory exile, the impact of his original personality goes beyond his own lifetime, while his vast educative, literary, political and philosophical work is still widely studied and discussed today. He was not a man to inspire indifference, and has therefore been described in all manner of highly contradictory terms. His life covers a large period of Mexican history, from Porfirio's dictatorship, through the revolutionary movement of 1910, and up to the establishment and consolidation of civilian regimes.

Vasconcelos received the best education that was available to an intelligent member of the Mexican middle class at that time. This education, combined with his determined character, helped him to become one of the most promising young lawyers of his generation. At the outbreak of the 1910 revolution he had as yet had no opportunity of getting to know, let alone of understanding, the sad reality of Mexico. This he was to learn as he went through life, more through his emotions than through any profound sociological or historical analysis. He first considered the conflict not so much as a social movement but more as the liberal demands of a middle class which was very far from being representative of the whole of Mexican society at that time. He then moved towards an assistance-type interpretation of that society which was to pervade all his political activity.

Whatever their political colour, almost all the successive government leaders solicited him; not all of them, however, gained his approval.

After an explosive and prolific career as a civil servant when he was still only in his early forties, he entered a long period of bitterness and growing incomprehension towards his own country: that very country that he had, to a great extent, set on the road to modernization.

Much has been written about the man and it is commonplace to refer to two Vasconcelos: one before and one after 1929, the year in which he ran for the

presidency. This attempt was a resounding failure, after which he retired from the political scene for good.

Separated from Mexico, both physically and spiritually, he dedicated the rest of his life to travelling and lecturing, while at the same time writing a vast number of books, essays and articles for the press. These works have never ceased to stimulate the curiosity and astonishment of contemporary readers because of his very unique itinerary for which he has been aptly named the 'constructive revolutionary'. This constructive talent flourished in the field of public education where he held office first as Rector of the National University of Mexico (1920-21), and then as Minister of Education (1921-24).

Vasconcelos: the rector

As Rector of the university, he showed his preoccupation with the enormous needs of the population as a whole and with the university's responsibility towards improving the situation. This was clearly stated in his inaugural speech: 'At this time, I do not come to work for the university but to ask the university to work for the people.'[2]

His position was clearly far removed from the Anglo-Saxon university model, and this he had already shown some years before when he set up a civilian institution called the Mexican Popular University. Here he had mobilized the intellectuals of the day to offer adult education through lectures and a variety of cultural events, all completely free of charge. This was later to be carried on as one of the branch activities of the National University itself. In the same spirit, as Rector, Vasconcelos launched a massive literacy campaign based on a team of 'honorary' teachers, so called because they were unpaid.

All of this illustrates one of the main features of Vasconcelos' philosophy: education as a means of emancipation for the people. Although this idea is, of course, by no means original, Vasconcelos was the first Mexican to include it in a national educational project, hitherto poorly defined. The project was then to become the main policy framework for subsequent governments. Furthermore, he enveloped the educational task in an almost religious mysticism, the fervour of which has frequently been compared to that of the colonial missionaries. And this was in fact his strong point. The energy he was to invest into the project spread to a whole generation of teachers and university students who regarded themselves as bearers of good news, and who took to the streets to spread this news with an enthusiasm which has never again been equalled. One of those students wrote:

> With dramatic gesture and inflammatory word Vasconcelos had pointed to the scars of illiteracy [and] he called upon us to fight against it with the same zeal and the same disinterestedness as the old Spanish missionary who went out to the most distant and humble dwelling places to save the pagan native's soul.[3]

The new ministry

Very soon Vasconcelos had the opportunity of giving his full attention to the very urgent problem of popular education. The outlook was very bleak because Porfirio's regime had abandoned all social issues and ten years of civil war had devastated the country. There was an 80 per cent illiteracy rate, an acute shortage of schools and schoolteachers in the state education system, as well as a very inadequate capacity for teacher training; only the privileged classes were able to receive instruction either in private schools or abroad. In addition, the vast majority of people requiring state education were to be found in rural areas with, in most cases, poor means of communication. Vasconcelos literally burst onto this dramatic scene in one of his favourite roles: that of redeeming messiah.

It must be pointed out that the extraordinary effort made, over a period of only three years, in favour of Mexican education could never have happened without the steadfast support of the then President of the Republic, General Alvaro Obregón, who headed the first government of post-war reconstruction and who initiated the transition towards civilian government – for which the price to be paid was still more violence.

The first important step Vasconcelos took was to reform the Constitution in order to re-establish the Ministry of Education, which had been abolished four years before, and to endow it with federal jurisdiction. As Secretary for Public Education, he managed to obtain the largest budget ever assigned to this sector, although he himself considered it to be inadequate, given the enormity of the task.

Because he was conscious of the very precarious political situation, Vasconcelos felt he had to work against the clock. In his opinion, courage and imagination, of which he had plenty, were needed to undertake the educational and cultural revolution which had necessarily to follow on after the armed revolution. He thus dedicated himself to defining not only the basic principles of his project, but also the organizational framework required to carry it through.

The theoretical framework

As was the custom of the day, Vasconcelos took up the banner of nationalism in order to overcome the tremendous racial, cultural, socio-economic and even geographical differences in Mexico which the revolution had brought to light.

He put forward a pseudo-philosophical argument according to which a national spirit could only be attained by rediscovering the native values of a people, just like the great ancient cultures of Greece and of India. These cultures, as opposed to decadent Europe or pragmatic North America, carried in them the seed of original creative energy. In addition, all the best of our past colonial humanist legacy had to be recovered and blended into an Ibero-American melting pot which Vasconcelos called the 'cosmic race', endowed with unique qualities for the creation of a new world.

From a cultural point of view – as well as from many others – post-revolutionary Mexico was a blank page, just asking to be filled, and Vasconcelos set about filling it without paying too much attention to any rigorously scientific methodological considerations.

With characteristic drive he started up a nationalist movement which caught on very rapidly. However, 'it was a nationalism without a single trace of xenophobia; it was not anti-anything, but simply pro-Mexico'.[4]

The new Minister's concern for national identity met with an enthusiastic response throughout the country: from intellectuals, teachers, workers and also from successive governments, who saw therein justification for the revolutionary fight. Some other Latin American countries responded to Vasconcelos' call, according to which 'peoples like ours aspire to autonomy rooted in their own culture'.[5] They believed that this would provide them with a politico-cultural alternative to the colonialism of the great powers.

The role of education in this context was obvious: to help the Mexican people to rediscover their own country, both in the classroom and in the street, since educational action was not just for children but for the entire community.

Moreover, this nationalistic education was also redesigned to resist the influence of some foreign educational ideas which, like those of John Dewey in the United States, promoted a society based on utilitarian standards.

Almost all Vasconcelos' ideas on this subject are to be found in his book *De Robinson a Odiseo* [From Robinson (Crusoe) to Odysseus], where he proposed a vitalistic attitude towards education which he called 'structurative pedagogy'. Here again, he pays little attention to the theoretical coherence of his discourse and prefers to resort to a declamatory style, which is in fact very effective. The two characters mentioned in the title are taken from world literature and used as opposing educational models. First, there is Robinson Crusoe, the empiricist, who 'learns from experience' but who finds himself trapped in his own mundane daily existence; second, we find Odysseus, the spiritual adventurer, flying high and unrestrained. Determinism enforced by necessity is thus directly opposed to exalted liberation of the mind.

'I take Robinson to symbolize the astute, improvised and exclusively technical method which characterizes the Anglo-Saxon era in the world: efficient but totally lacking in genius.' While Odysseus symbolizes 'the traveller who explores, acts, discovers and creates not only with his hands, and never with his hands alone, because he has neither the ability nor the wish to rid himself of the creative talent or of the treasures of that millennial culture that he carries with him, and which liberates his mind.'[6]

This 'structurative' pedagogy fulfils the ideal which Odysseus symbolizes by searching 'beyond the mastering of science, into the marvelous unfolding of the mind. . . . So, the educated mind enriches everyday reality precisely because it can modify and outwit certain aspects of necessity, thus developing a free mind, through knowledge.'[7]

Finally, one more characteristic feature of Vasconcelos' educational philosophy must be mentioned: aesthetics was regarded by him as the means by which liberation of the mind could be attained. Sublimation through aesthetic enjoyment is, at the same time, the way to emancipation which enables the spirit of the individual, and that of society as a whole, to blossom forth. In Vasconcelos' opinion, this conception suited the Mexican people because of their natural disposition for aesthetic appreciation. He therefore set about promoting all types of popular artistic expression which had been disregarded and forgotten by the pro-French Profirist regime.

If to go beyond simple practical instruction involves educating man's sensibility, then this sensibility in turn brings mankind closer to great ideas. Education is, therefore, not only a question of aesthetics, but of ethics, too.

And so it is that Vasconcelos closes up the classic circle: beauty, goodness and knowledge, thus giving a certain harmony to his educational discourse; he does, however, accomplish a certain number of gymnastic feats in order to bridge the gaps between the various philosophical paradigms. This apparently did not cause him to lose any sleep, as he himself explained:

> I am by nature born to poetry and songs of praise rather than to reflection, so I rarely felt that I was a philosopher. It was not so much my reasoning that made me philosophize, but my desire for integrity in all things: thought, emotion and action.[8]

Consequently, it was with the passion, and not the logic, of his arguments that he was able to win over a well-disposed, but very often naive, audience. However, all this can in no way diminish the enormous scope of the work he accomplished in the field of public education.

The practical applications

This concept of nationalistic, vital, aesthetic and ethical education was put into practice through a vast programme which transformed the country in a very short time.

Vasconcelos divided his ministry into three main departments: schools, libraries and the fine arts. Considerable progress was made in the field of popular education in all three areas. The Schools Department decided to increase the educational services offered to both children and adults. At elementary level there was a 50 per cent increase in the number of teachers, pupils and official schools. The idea of promoting a harmonious and complete development of each individual was reflected in the curriculum; as well as traditional subjects, physical and artistic education was introduced, the latter being under the responsibility of the Department of Fine Arts. At the same time, links were established between school and work. Vasconcelos worked towards the advancement of popular trades as opposed to the classical university professions: 'We would prefer to be the best confectioner in the republic than the worst lawyer in the village.'[9] So, technical and industrial education were introduced into both rural

and urban schools and, at a higher level, the School of Chemical Sciences and the Technological Institute of Mexico were created, both with the most modern equipment.

Special attention must be paid here to Vasconcelos' interpretation of the role of the teacher, whom he endowed with redeeming faculties: 'those teachers taking part in our work are convinced that they not only exercise a civil function but that they are also part of a modern crusade to elevate and liberate the minds and to improve the bodies of their fellow men.'[10]

For Vasconcelos, a teacher was not a technician but an apostle and an artist. As such, the method he used had to combine example and seduction. This is best illustrated by the 'cultural missions', a strategy designed to take the educational service into rural areas. The teacher-missionary was supposed to be the bearer of the alphabet, as well as the rudiments of civilization: in other words, techniques for the improvement of health, agriculture, handicrafts and the environment as a whole. He was thus aptly compared to a missionary, especially because of the spirit which inspired his work.

This strategy was part of the project intended for native people, who represented the majority of the rural population. The Minister considered this to be only a 'temporary task since, instead of being kept and educated apart according to the North American system of reservations, the Indians would, once they had learnt Spanish and acquired some rudiments of knowledge, be able to register in rural schools where Indians, mestizos and whites would mix, irrespective of race'.[11]

The aim, here again, was to attain a national spirit through the mixing of races. There was always the risk that some of the richness of the Mexican cultural mosaic might be lost, but Vasconcelos still chose the path of integration, through education.

Another integration project was that of education for women. Women were offered the possibility of becoming teachers in order to emancipate themselves and others. As in all post-war periods, opportunities were opened up for women in order to compensate for the thousands of men who had died. Vasconcelos, with the help of Gabriela Mistral, built up the myth of the ideal teacher. A woman's traditional qualities of self-sacrifice and sensitivity naturally fitted the description of the model teacher. Women were thus helped by Vasconcelos' eloquence to change their social image from that of mother of a family to that of mother of the people.

Perhaps one of the most significant achievements for the teaching profession was in restoring its prestige by transforming its members into the bearers of the revolutionary messianic message. There have been very few periods in our history when schoolteachers have regarded their job with the same spiritual generosity as Vasconcelos conferred upon it, or when teachers have been able to count so totally on the recognition and support of the whole community.

One of the most controversial tasks of Vasconcelos' administration was assigned to the Libraries Department: that of editing and publishing large quanti-

ties of books, magazines and educational texts. Vasconcelos, just like his Russian homologue Lunacharsky, made the state into a publisher of accessible reading matter for the Mexican people in Spanish and at low prices.

'We did not want it to be necessary to learn a foreign language in order to learn about the fundamental philosophy of mankind; we wanted to reduce the price of those books already on the market and make them more generally available, but this proved difficult, so we decided to keep our literacy campaign out of the greedy hands of the publishers.'[12]

The list of publications is practically endless, as is the list of the subjects that they cover. Not only were over 2 million literacy primers published, together with translations of major classics, but also the best writers of the day wrote original texts and a great number of technical manuals were diffused. These publications were for all types of readers, in school or otherwise, and included special reading for children, young people, and adults, for both men and for women.

Vasconcelos was very severely criticized both by private publishers, who accused him of unfair competition, and by the political opposition, who accused him of squandering public funds on such a costly undertaking for a country with a mainly illiterate population. Indeed, when he left the ministry the publishing programme stopped abruptly and all the thousands of sheets of paper left in the presses were printed with political propaganda instead.

However, most of the books reached their destination: a network of almost 2,000 libraries was set up throughout the country, either in special buildings or in rural schools, in union premises or in town halls. On many occasions Vasconcelos himself took the books to some of the smallest, most out-of-the-way places, to the great astonishment of the local inhabitants.

The work accomplished by the Department of Fine Arts was equally spectacular. This department was in charge of the project to safeguard popular art and also of promoting the plastic arts, and the works of contemporary poets, writers and composers. It was thus responsible for the revival of traditional handicrafts, festivities, songs and dances, as well as of music and literature by educated Mexican composers and writers. Similarly, pre-Hispanic archeology was rediscovered, studied and used as a model for artistic production. Vasconcelos had a hand in the big upsurge in mural art by offering the walls of public buildings, including his newly built Ministry, for artists to execute their clearly nationally inspired works. He was also behind the reorganization of those institutions which had been more or less abandoned, such as the San Carlos Academy of Fine Arts, the National Conservatory of Music, and the National Symphony Orchestra.

Once again, the Minister managed to involve all sectors of public life in this undertaking, making them all partners in a true festival of national culture which not only took over the traditional theatres, but invaded parks and open-air workshops too. 'It is in this last action – the creation of a cultural environment

where each member of the population can peaceably find his own place – that Vasconcelos really occupies a place of major importance.'[13]

Obviously, this article does not pretend to be an exhaustive study of the work and educative philosophy of Vasconcelos. It merely points out the most important aspects of his work and may thereby stimulate the reader to discover Vasconcelos' very pleasant prose for himself.

As we have seen in the preceding pages, it is hard to define such a singular figure in simple terms, his ideas being regarded as either rich and complex or clumsy and confused. One thing is certain, however: for all his achievements or failings, he left a very clear personal mark on his own generation and on those that followed.

It is probably true to say that his originality is not to be found in his ideas, which in the present-day perspective appear somewhat eclectic, but in his actions. He was more a man of action than of reflection, a talented and impassioned orator and a great individualist, an authoritarian but distinctly charismatic organizer, who managed to devise a whole programme of educational action which was perfectly adapted to the circumstances of his time. This is, perhaps, the reason why his call for social solidarity was so successful.

His influence was so far-reaching that many of the education ministers who succeeded him did no more than simply reiterate many of his instructions. One exception to this was Moisés Sáenz who, in the 1930s, attempted, without much success, to copy the North American model. Again, during the Cardenist period a little later, although Vasconcelos' ideas were not totally abandoned, a more socialist framework was adopted. Naturally, as time went by, the original mystique and vitality of Vasconcelos' ideas were lost and all that remained was worn-out revolutionary rhetoric.

In spite of his well-known lament: 'the name of the Revolution has been so abused that I have come to rebel against it myself',[14] it was Vasconcelos who created the most effective politico-educational myths in Mexican contemporary history: the myth of education as a means to satisfy social needs and therefore as the irrefutable responsibility of the revolutionary state; the myth of the teacher in the role of the redeeming missionary; and the myth of the native as a source of inspiration and purification.

Notes

1. This profile first appeared in *Prospects*, Vol. 14, No. 1, 1986.
2. José Vasconcelos, *Discursos: 1920-1950* [Speeches: 1920-1950], p. 9, Mexico City, Ediciones Botas, 1950.
3. Daniel Cossío Villegas, *Memorias* [Recollections], p. 88, Mexico City, Joaquín Mortiz, 1977.
4. Ibid., p. 91.
5. J. Vasconcelos, 'De Robinson a Odiseo' [From Robinson (Crusoe) to Odysseus], *Textos sobre educación*, p. 55, Mexico City, Secretaría de Educación Pública/Fondo de Cultura Económica, Mexico City, 1981.

6. Ibid., pp. 33 and 72.
7. Ibid., pp. 49 and 146.
8. J. Vasconcelos, *La tormenta* [The Storm], Mexico City, Botas, 1937.
9. Quoted by José Joaquín Blanco, *Se llamaba Vasconcelos, una evocación crítica* [His Name Was Vasconceles, A Critical Portrait], p. 106, Mexico City, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1983.
10. J. Vasconcelos, 'Conferencia en el Continental Memorial Hall de Washington' [Conference in the Continental Memorial Hall, Washington], *Textos sobre educación*, op. cit., p. 290.
11. J. Vasconcelos, 'Indologia', *Textos sobre educación*, op. cit., p. 169.
12. Ibid., p. 177.
13. Blanco, op. cit., p. 98.
14. Vasconcelos, *Discursos*, op. cit., p. 111.

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GIAMBATTISTA VICO

(1668–1744)

Maria Teresa Maiullari

The inaugural discourses

Vico was born in Naples on 23 June 1668, the son of Antonio Vico (1638-1706), a bookseller, and Candida Masullo (1633-99). He completed his elementary and secondary education at the Jesuit School. An intellectual conception common to many young men in the upper classes attending Jesuit schools during the eighteenth century marked the form and, in part, the content of Vico's later meditations. The images and metaphors in his writings are taken from a biblical and classical repertoire. Vico's Jesuit education led to the acquisition of an expressive vocabulary which he used to communicate new ideas about the concept and practice of education.

After finishing his studies in 'literature' and completing a specialization in 'rhetoric', he was appointed Professor of Rhetoric at the Royal University of Naples. On 18 October 1699, at the age of 31, Vico gave the first of his 'Inaugural Discourses'. Following the tradition of contemporary Italian universities, a lecture opened the academic year and clarified certain educational intentions of the teacher. From 1699 to 1706 Vico gave these *Orazioni Inaugurali* [Inaugural Discourses] which were collected and published in a volume ending with a 'Final Dissertation'. This work is the fruit of the first phase of Vico's thought.

The 'Inaugural Discourses' are arranged around four principal themes. The first relates to the 'aims of the appropriate study of human nature', and takes up the first three 'Inaugural Discourses'. The educator, wrote Vico, must be familiar with the natural predispositions of the human soul and impel the student to develop this familiarity as well. The purpose of this study is to identify the path which leads from knowledge to wisdom. In the first 'Inaugural Discourse', the educator invited the student to 'always cultivate the divine force of the mind'. Vico did not distance himself from the familiar themes of his Jesuit education;

however, the creative power of the human mind was also important and one of the fixed points of classical philosophy.

In the second 'Inaugural Discourse', Vico introduced the themes of virtue and wisdom. These must 'adorn the human soul' and transform learning, which is sterile and rudimentary, into knowledge. The latter is a common goal towards which every teacher and student must aim. The establishment of a communion of ends is fundamental to an education system. Vico added in the third 'Inaugural Discourse' that this complicity between master and disciple 'dispels simulated and useless learning'.

These words elevate Vico from a simple repeater of common formulas to an original thinker. He was concerned with transmitting knowledge through the teaching of rhetoric, but he also wanted to start a movement of autonomous self-development in the student. The latter must rediscover his own soul, the connection between the Divine and human nature. The study of the classics and their expressive formulas becomes a means of intellectual development and not an end in itself.

The second principle theme of the 'Inaugural Discourses' concerns the political goals of study. The adjective 'political' recalls the etymological significance of the term. The student must learn to aim towards the good of the polis or the city-state. In the fourth 'Inaugural Discourse', Vico underlined the importance of learning guided by 'the common good of the citizens'. The civic feeling of belonging to a community must be stimulated in the student. That which the disciple learns must help all his fellow citizens and all humanity. The subject of the fifth 'Inaugural Discourse' was, precisely, the growth 'with literature, of the glory of arms'. Like all men of his time, Vico was concerned with war and the fight for territorial domination. He lived at a time when reality was violence and he sought to act upon it. His students were the men who would assume the highest positions in the state. Vico wanted to make them understand that the true sign of distinction of a given people resides within its culture and not within the glory of its weapons.

The third theme of the 'Inaugural Discourses' concerns the Christian goals of learning. (The adjective Christian is used in the etymological sense.) This is developed in the sixth 'Inaugural Discourse'. Vico began by observing the corruption of human nature, and the necessity of correcting it in order to help the 'human community' as much as possible. Every man must act to improve himself in order to help the community of men to which he belongs. The classical philosophical theme of élitism in the 'Republic of Letters' of an uncultured people was present in Vico's thought. The students whom he taught would be the future leaders of the state, directing a shared evolution and development. The educator and student must be aware of the importance of their own roles and the worth of their education.

The last theme, the fourth, is developed primarily in the 'Final Dissertation' and concerns the comparison between the study methods of the ancients and that of Vico's time. The educator sought to investigate 'in what way one must avoid

the disadvantages of our method of study as compared to that of the ancients, so that ours may become more correct and better than theirs'. The 'ancients' to whom Vico was referring are Seneca, Cicero and Grotius. Their method of study gave preference to a parallel research on the human soul and the examination of philosophy, literature, rhetoric and jurisprudence. Grotius, in particular, being a wise man and a great judge, was able to reconcile the different influences deriving from the law and from collective behaviour in order to bring the two together as close as possible. Vico followed this line of teaching. To arrive at a total comprehension of human nature, social behaviour and the law, one must – according to Vico – have interdisciplinarity. In fact, he himself had studied mathematics because it was indispensable to the study of the rules of rhetoric.

The new science

The *Lettere* [Letters], published posthumously, are a good example of this interdisciplinarity and testify to a constant effort to accomplish it through practical learning. This correspondence, varied in tone and voice, is made up of a series of disconnected reflections by the educator on teaching and intellectual formation. However, they do not represent a true or complete education system. An attempt to formulate a complete method of knowledge, and how to transmit it, was the reason behind the compilation of *La Scienza Nuova* [The New Science]. This work was finished in 1725.

La Scienza Nuova is composed of five books and a conclusion. The entire work is absorbed with comparisons: between contemporary study methods and those of the ancients; with the differences between historical periods; and with research on the cultural characteristics of each period in human evolution.

The fourth volume represents the culmination of Vico's systematic thought. In it are distinguished three different ages, each corresponding to three different stages of nature, manners, law and government: the ages of (a) the Gods; (b) Heroes; and (c) Man. 'The nature of Man is intelligent and his manners are modest, full of the feeling of civic duty.' Natural law is interpreted by the jurisprudence dictated by an absolute state. The only means of improving the life of every individual is through learning and culture.

Vico's ideal is the attainment of an 'eternal natural Republic ordered by Divine Providence'. This concept is taken from Plato's *Republic*, in which it is written that 'good and honest men are the supreme lords: the true natural aristocracy'. This natural aristocracy is an aristocracy of letters and culture. In order to achieve it and to overcome the qualitative distance between the ancients and contemporaries, the system of teaching and education must be changed. The change must come about through interdisciplinarity in the sciences. These were ordered by Vico in the fourth volume of *The New Science* and are visually represented by the Tree of Knowledge. In it the human sciences and the exact sciences are integrated in the education of the 'lords of the natural aristocracy' to which

the educator wishes to refer in his daily teaching. Vico returned to this theme of interdisciplinarity in other works.

In his *Autobiografia di Giambattista Vico scritta da lui stesso* [Autobiography of Giambattista Vico], he declared that he was happy to have continued his studies in mathematics up to the fifth theorem of Euclid. This, in fact, facilitated his comprehension of a geometric method at the origin of numerous rhetorical arguments put forward by the ancient philosophers. This systemizing, interpretation and use of the sciences is at the source of different interpretations of Vico's thought which diverge from the three accredited schools.

The 'Inaugural Discourses' and 'The New Science' are Vico's most important works with regard to understanding his education system. However, this consideration does not diminish the merits of other works by the same author. The *Institutiones Oratoriae* [Instructions to Orators], the *De Nostri Temporis Studiorum Ratione* [On the Study Methods of Our Time] and the *De Antiquissima Italorum sapientia* [On the Ancient Wisdom of the Italians] have their own importance in the field of rhetorical study. These, in any event, remain marginal to the study of aspects of a method of teaching and education. Vico was both a philosopher and a rhetorician. This double merit re-emerged with force at the time of his death.

He died in Naples, during the night of 22/23 January 1744. A strange tale has been handed down through the years regarding the treatment of his corpse during the days directly following his death.

Vico was a member of the brotherhood of Santa Sophia, a practice which was typical in the southern regions of Italy at that time. This devotional association satisfied the Christian needs of men belonging to the highest social classes. The members guaranteed each other reciprocal assistance in the event of sickness, and at the time of their death they could count on the intervention of the brotherhood in ceremonial practices. Vico was also a member of the Royal University of Naples and, on the morning of 23 January, his professorial colleagues came – according to procedure – to adorn the house and coffin of Vico for the funeral ceremony. A little later, the Brothers of Santa Sophia arrived to give the necessary funeral homage to an important member of their devotional congregation. A confrontation between the members of the two groups, each of which claimed exclusive rights to the adornment procedure and to the funeral ceremony, degenerated. There was a violent quarrel, and both groups abandoned the coffin and the house without any adornment or any other form of consecration.

This short account is not simply a curious fact that embellishes Vico's life and stimulates the reader's interest in his work: it is in itself worthy of attention. Such a reference is intended to reinsert Vico in his own time, amid the controversies for social prestige and political power among his contemporaries. The anecdote may also explain the little immediate success that the theses of the educator had.

An academic, but also a philosopher capable of independent thought, Vico was considered an innovator by his contemporaries and, as such, a dangerous person. After his death he was forgotten, and had to await the beginning of the nineteenth century to be rediscovered. In that new epoch, rich in unexpected changes, the education system of Giambattista Vico resurfaced as a sound method for developing knowledge.

The theory and practice of knowledge

The first 'Inaugural Discourse' examines the Greek saying inscribed on the temple of the Oracle of Delphi: 'Know thyself'. This invitation to know one's own soul was found in the thoughts of certain philosophers of antiquity, among them Plato, Seneca and Cicero. Vico's approach, however, is distinguished from that of these classical authors by its immediate and practical entry within the framework of an educational method. 'Knowledge of oneself,' said Giambattista Vico, 'is for everyone the highest encouragement to bring rapidly to a conclusion the study of the entire cycle of learning'. The educator adds that 'the body is a container, or, so to speak, a receptacle of the soul.' All that we do is done, in reality, from the soul. The capabilities of the soul are unimaginable; to know it perfectly is a divine undertaking, and it is only to God that its creation can be attributed. Through application and study we can seek to discover the potential of our soul and attempt to exploit it in order to examine our own consciousness.

At the moment of his entry into the academic world, Vico confronted one of the most important themes of philosophical and educational thought. The subject of the human soul, its characteristics and its capacity for total consciousness permitted him to participate in a tradition of thought and of teaching that does not strictly concern rhetoric. This is the first sign of the independence of judgement and of the autonomous educational method that characterized Vico's entire life.

Reference to the thought of the Classical period – Plato, Seneca, Cicero and Grotius – was inevitable. But the unavoidable constant confrontation with the philosophies and systems of learning and education created and adopted by the greatest thinkers of Greece and Rome was not solely due to an intellectual debt on the part of Vico towards them. He knew that he would be accepted by his contemporaries only through the use of explicative parameters and classical images known to the world of philosophy and rhetoric.

In exposing his positions on teaching and education, Vico took up another theme dear to Seneca and Cicero: that of stupidity. 'No enemy is more dangerous and more adverse than is the fool to himself.' Human nature is senseless and completely incoherent to its own interests, wrote Giambattista Vico. Consequently, the interest and the primary aim for every man must be to achieve a coherence between his own nature and his own actions, between theory and action. The method of obtaining this end is also a law that God gave to mankind: wisdom.

The influence of Seneca is particularly strong. 'If we turn our soul to the study of Wisdom, we follow Nature; if instead we pass from Wisdom to Stupidity, we renounce our nature and work against the Law whose statutes dictate punishments so ready and severe that the pain is formed and applied in the same instant.' As in Seneca, the soul's capacity to add to true knowledge, to wisdom, allays the risks of learning even to oneself. The essence of true learning lies in modesty.

'If we aspire to true and sound learning, substantial and not vain,' Vico confirmed, 'it is first necessary that all perfidy be far from the Republic of Letters'. The perfidy of which the educator is speaking comes from the presumption of knowledge, not from wisdom. The student must learn rules and ideas, but must be able to go beyond the simple accumulation of names and dates, of sterile book-learning. He must think of his cultural heritage, and use it well for the collective good. He must be a member of the Republic of Letters, of a cultural and political élite that knows how to guide the community of man and thus to improve itself. The 'Republic' of Vico is formed of men who have grasped the methods of knowledge and of wisdom. These men distinguish themselves from the rest of humanity, but do not remove themselves from it. This is the major difference between the Republic of Letters of Plato and that of Vico. The Greek philosopher identifies a separate reality, an élite whose task is to guide ignorant people incapable of elevating themselves. The eighteenth-century educator described a distinct group in whom knowledge will come to maturity, but this group is in favour of diffusing its knowledge among all men.

The theme of the elevation of humankind was linked with the Patristics. The Fathers of the Church maintained the importance of learning as the true utility of study. This is not Adam's illicit desire for knowledge for which he was punished and deprived of true wisdom, but a humility of the soul. 'Culture distinguishes the wise man from the common man,' said Vico. 'Neither the former nor the latter knows. But the common man believes he knows, while the wise man knows he does not know.'

Learning and knowledge are not true and complete if they ignore consideration of others. 'If someone wishes to obtain from the study of literature the greatest advantage, associated with personal prestige, he learns while keeping an eye on the good of the state, that is, the common good of one's fellow citizens.' The familiar term of the Patristics, that of a brotherhood of fellow Christians, is associated in the thought of Vico with that of a community of men governed by the law of the state. Like every thinker and scholar of his time, the eighteenth-century educator did not ignore the social and political forces of an absolute state. The students of the university will be the future leaders of that institution and it is to these men that must be communicated a new concept of knowledge. Rhetoric becomes, then, a means and not an end to knowledge. In his conception, Vico differentiated himself from his predecessors and distanced himself from a large part of the teaching body of his time, which was still bound to a mediaeval interpretation of teaching.

The educator is aware of the social origins and the career aspirations of his students. He must succeed in making these future military and political men accept his concept of education and his method of knowledge, using the means offered by rhetoric. Vico devoted the fifth 'Inaugural Discourse' to explaining the power of classical instruction in the education of great philosophers and great generals. 'States reached the summit of military power,' he claimed, 'and the power of domination only when Literature flowered the most.' Literature acts directly on the sensibility of the soul; together they form the knowledge and humility of wisdom.

The best explanation of this tie between soul, thought and language was offered by Vico in the last 'Inaugural Discourse'. 'Every man,' he says, 'is composed of a soul, thought and language.' All humankind has a natural predisposition towards knowledge. This inclination must be individualized by the educator, who has the task of making his student discover it. The best educational method is that based on interdisciplinarity. 'An awareness of the corruption of human nature is a motive to learn the entire cycle of the liberal arts and sciences,' wrote Vico, 'and suggests to us the exact method, coherent and easy, to study when one dedicates one's self to study.' With these words it seems that the educator is looking for the complicity of the student, a complicity that is a fellowship of spirit, of objectives and of language.

The same desire for clarity, in himself and in others, and of complicity permeates another work of Giambattista Vico: his autobiography. In this work one feels the desire to gather among all men the learning of a common cultural past and to use it to foster cultural growth among contemporaries that cannot ignore the knowledge that everyone must have both his own soul and a soul in common with his kind.

When Vico described his personal life and, above all, his intellectual life, he remembered and reflected upon his own experience, and suggested a general frame of education as he intended it to be. His great vexation, and the point of honour of his research and of his teaching, resided in his constant comparison of the educational method of his contemporaries with that of the ancients. Every time he was able to confirm that the method of the ancients was better than that of his contemporaries, it was as if he was joining a struggle to continue to improve the modern system of education, with the goal of aiding the intellectual growth of his contemporaries.

This is the central problem of *The New Science*. Vico was interested in his time, in the social and legal ordering of the human community and the conditions that make this possible. It is no coincidence that three of the four authors constantly cited by the educator had extraordinary political and legal knowledge. They are Plato, with reference to the *Republic*, Tacitus and Grotius. The latter is a philosopher of natural law and of a peaceful life for humanity.

Sensitivity of language, as a way of communication and of transmission of knowledge, pervades all of Vico's work. It is through language that one can easily arrive at full knowledge of the components of the human sciences.

Interdisciplinarity, constantly proclaimed in *The New Science*, sets Vico apart from these extraordinary forerunners in the field of knowledge and the tutelary deity of Italian philosophy, which was often not taken into consideration by his contemporaries. He did not propose a universal system of knowledge that can be applied with pre-established rules and mechanisms. His method, based on the complicity between teacher and student, is not always easy to apply. Exploiting each student's aptitude and natural tendency perplexed his own students upon arrival from a Jesuit school and caused many of them to abandon him. What is not understood seems odd, and what seemed odd in Vico's time was considered dangerous.

He constantly tried to keep within the fundamental rules of the Jesuitical type of explanation. The title of the dissertation solemnly held at the Royal University of Naples on 18 October 1708, 'Studiorum Ratio' [The Order of Study], recalls the *Ratio atque Institutio Studiorum* [Reason and the Establishment of Studies] of the Jesuits. The correct translation of the Latin word *ratio* is not 'method', as is commonly used, but rather 'order'. The word 'method' is only used in the text to indicate the geometrical method.

Keeping in mind Plato, Tacitus, Grotius and Bacon, the latter of whom wrote *De Augmentis Scientiarum* [On the Expansion of Science], Vico confirmed the opinion that to bring human wisdom to perfection, new arts and new sciences are necessary. In the field of education, this is the winning argument of the contemporaries over the ancients. It is true, said Vico, that the advantages and disadvantages of the two methods have to be considered, but the inclusion of the study of new sciences and arts would eventually bring the system advocated by his contemporaries to be superior to the method of the ancients.

We owe our advantages, said Vico, to the 'instruments of the sciences: critical analysis, the geometrical method, the microscope, the university, and the goal of the studies,' while our disadvantages continue to stem from 'the eloquence that prevents and hinders the arts'. Vico's innovative method is most evident and is perfected in the fourth volume of *The New Science*.

In this text, the educator traced the history of the three stages that he linked to the three different types of knowledge. Human beings are excluded from direct knowledge possessed by the 'Gods', and from the indirect or partial knowledge of the 'Heroes'. Humans must find a way to reach wisdom. In the Tree of Wisdom, all the sciences are well ordered and the basic principles of each are indispensable to reach full knowledge. The educator must assist the student, but in so doing he must favour the latter's natural predisposition towards knowledge. The course may be difficult; those who reach the end will enter and form part of a 'Republic' of wise men ready themselves to become educational guides. Vico's aim was to try and form individuals' knowledge of themselves.

The characteristics of a modern lawful state can only be achieved through knowledge and study. This study must include a geometrical method allowing us to surpass the knowledge of the 'Classics'.

The fundamental interdisciplinarity of Vico's educational method, his attention to comparing the ancients with his contemporaries, and his work as Professor of Rhetoric, are all important elements that have contributed to the interpretation of his thought. He has been viewed, in different epochs, as a philosopher, a historian and a rhetorician. Only during the last fifty years have researchers shown some interest in Vico as an educator or rather as a promoter of new methods for reaching the full knowledge of the human mind and of science.

Interpretative schools of Vico's thought

In 1978, from 21 to 25 August, the town of Venice held an important congress on Vico and on the interpretation of his thought. From this meeting emerged three major interpretative schools. Is Vico a rhetorician, a philosopher or an educationist?

The Italo-Neapolitian trend is mainly interested in the rhetorical aspect, and in the literary and juridical works of the author. From the interpretation of Croce and Nicolini presented in a research study, Vico is seen as a philologist, a scholar and a historian. The object of this school is to situate Vico in his intellectual and cultural sphere at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and to find the similarities and contradictions with the Jesuitical tradition. In particular, two authors, Piovani and Giarrizzo, took up again the rich documentary research carried out by the neo-idealists on some themes of Vico's meditation.

Research by Berlin (1976), based on the attitude towards Vico's thought in the texts of his contemporaries, reduces the romantic image of the educator to that of a Robinson Crusoe and a little-appreciated prophet.

At the source of the Italo-Neapolitan interpretative stream is the division of the our educationist's production into different parts, and a predilection for rhetorical and philological works. Piovani says that the moment has not yet come to work on an entire interpretation of Vico. It is necessary to integrate a general analysis with specific studies.

During the 1960s there was a vast controversy between a current that supported the cultural backwardness of Vico and another that saw him ready to listen to the major thinkers of his time. These themes are the starting point for the German school that stresses the relation between this author and his era on the one hand, and, on the other, his anti-Cartesianism. Vico underlines the method of the human sciences and confronts it with that of the natural sciences. Lowith and Kessler devote much of their work to a study of this. The former begins by drawing a series of parallels between Vico and Hegel and Vico and Marx that enriches the vast bibliography on the educator at a monographic and monothematic level.

The American school, well represented by Verene (1976), tends to adapt these two aspects. This interpretative current is partly influenced by the strong presence of Tagliacozzo (1983) and his continuous connections with the Italo-

Neapolitan school. This way of thinking, while concentrating on the connected aspect of Vico's education system, also maintains numerous historical and ideological procedures between the two above-named schools.

The American school represents one that has concentrated in the best way – that is, on a single theme instead of on the entire work of the educator – and has used different types of interpretative sources to give life to the description of some ideas about Vico's education system. The principal object of study is represented by the 'Tree of Knowledge' and by the attention to interdisciplinary learning. The American current does not succeed in identifying Vico's education system, in spite of its formulation in the works projected, expressed and realized by Vico. Vico's ideas on education are set forth in a lifetime of research on improved knowledge, yet this never becomes a separate method, independent and applicable in practice.

Perhaps some will object that one reason why the American school never really considered the idea of one of Vico's education systems is because of the strong presence of Tagliacozzo. Keeping in mind the philological needs of the Italo-Neapolitan school where he was trained, Tagliacozzo also incorporates the cultural and educational aspect present in Vico. The metaphor of the 'Tree of Knowledge', based on the distinction of three epochs and of the co-ordination of the human and exact sciences, has been adopted on the basis of an interpretation of Vico's education system. This 'Tree' supports the necessity of interdisciplinarity that was felt mainly at the beginning of our century.

Vico is not simply an inveterate opponent of the Cartesian method. He is the real creator of an education and of a complete cultural formation that, following the natural predisposition of each student, can create a group of men able to carry out their roles in society. The method of modern studies can be improved in this way so that it becomes better than the ancient one. Both are composed of warriors and political men. In the second, the philosophers have a major power of influence and counsel on politics and policy, due to their knowledge; in the first, the philosophers are a different category. The intellectuals are excluded from the management of power. Where and when this power is assigned to them because of the dress they wear, as is the case with the Jesuits, it is only the tool of power and not its end.

This is the real innovation of Giambattista Vico. Is it a system or can it be considered one? It all depends on the meaning that is given to this word. It is important not to think of a system as a frame for fixing realities, because Vico's ideas were in constant evolution. They were forever being studied and re-thought by Vico himself during his entire life up to the writing of the *La Scienza Nuova Seconda* [Second New Science], a posthumous publication.

During the nineteenth century, Vico was considered an important innovator, and there was a great deal of argument about him, mainly because his theories were open-ended, his meditations were not a system, and because his education and his works constantly recalled his character as a literary man, rhetorician, historian, philosopher and educator. If Vico had not been all of

these, how could he have produced such reflection on education? He was a man of his time. It is Vico himself who expressed this in his 'Letters' and in his autobiography.

Labels cannot apply to a person who had such a rich human and cultural value.

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JUAN LUIS VIVES

(1492?–1540)

Ricardo Marín Ibáñez

Vives merits study on account of his literary excellence, his eminent role as a Renaissance thinker and his outstanding intellectual, ethical and aesthetic values. We may also note his historical relevance, his congruence with the 'spirit of our time' (the *Zeitgeist*) and with recently emerging values such as peace, moral conduct and the transcending of national conflicts and ethnocentrism – those permanent ideals to which UNESCO is dedicated.

Education and teaching

Juan Luis Vives was born in Valencia, Spain, in 1492 or 1493, the records of the date being inconsistent.[1] His native city, a seaport, was open to the influence of the Italian Renaissance through its political connection with the Italian islands and the kingdom of Naples, which were at that time part of Spain. His native tongues were Valencian and Spanish; he was to familiarize himself with Greek, French, Flemish, English and Italian; but Latin was the language of learned communication and he demonstrated outstanding proficiency in it in his works. This multilingual European dimension remained constant throughout his life.

Vives came from a family of converted Jewish cloth merchants,[2] of solid financial standing, who were repeatedly placed on trial by the Inquisition between 1491, when his mother renounced Judaism, and 1524, when his parents and paternal grandmother were convicted.[3] His rigorous sense of moral rectitude has Judaeo-Christian origins.

Following primary studies, completed at the age of 12, Vives attended a two-year grammar course and a three-year arts course in the recently inaugurated University of Valencia, established in 1501 by a papal bull of Alexander VI. He experienced the conflict between traditional scholastic education and the nascent humanism that was to inform his own literary development.[4]

In 1517 he moved to Paris, where he studied at the Faculty of Arts, taking Logic as his main subject. In protest at the poor education he received, he later

wrote his famous pamphlet *Adversus pseudodialecticus* [Against False Dialecticians] (Louvain, 1519).

We are told that Vives enrolled in Montaigu College.[5] His teachers included, in particular, Nicolas Bérault, a product of Italian humanism. But there was another influence on his thinking at the time; in the college he came into contact with *devotio moderna*, a movement launched in the Netherlands in the late fourteenth century by Gerhard Groote and later developed by the 'Brethren of the Common Life', who sought to revive the spirit of the early church. Eschewing rarefied theological and philosophical discussion, they devoted themselves to a profoundly moral and religious way of life. Thomas à Kempis' *The Imitation of Christ* typifies this movement, which deeply influenced Vives. According to recent research, he also had contacts with the Lisieux College, but Vives did not confine himself to a particular college and selected the most highly reputed teachers from among the fifty or so colleges of the Sorbonne.

In 1519 we find Vives working as a professor at the University of Louvain, which was composed of the four classical faculties of Arts, Medicine, Law and Theology. Vives, a great humanist and teacher of classical studies, lectured on Pliny's *Natural History* in the morning and on Virgil's *Georgics* at his evening classes. But his name does not appear on the list of teachers. He probably offered his services as a guest lecturer who would talk on specific subjects by virtue of his personal prestige.

In Bruges he met and became a close friend of Adrian of Utrecht, Vice-Chancellor of the University, who later became Pope Adrian VI, to whom he addressed one of his letters, offering a lucid diagnosis and cure for the ills of his age.

He was in great demand as a private tutor, in which capacity he was employed primarily by the Valdaura family, merchants from Valencia, whose daughter he married in 1524. Among his most prominent pupils was Guillermo de Croy, appointed Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo, whose death deprived Vives of many opportunities.

Of decisive importance during this period was his contact with Erasmus, whose literary authority, mastery of classical thought and profound theological learning were undisputed. Through Erasmus and the Netherlands circle, Vives became steeped in what has been called 'northern humanism'. Italian humanism, in its many different guises and with its various representative figures, is more literary and aesthetic, while northern humanism is considered more moral, more theological, philosophical, political and social in character. In this northern humanist school, Erasmus was the most eminent theologian; Budé excelled as jurist and More concerned himself essentially with social and political matters.[6] Vives stood out by virtue of his moral and philosophical principles and shared with the others a strong attachment to religion.

In 1523, he travelled to England at the behest of Henry VIII and his wife Catherine of Aragon. On a number of occasions, the king and queen, accompanied by several members of the court, attended his lectures at Corpus Christi

College, Oxford, which were devoted to the classical Latin authors: Cicero, Quintilian, Virgil, Ovid and Horace.

The stern, moral and indeed ascetic character of education at Oxford both influenced Vives in his habits and corresponded to his temperament.[7] Strict discipline was observed in Corpus Christi College: the day began at 5 a.m. with mass, biblical texts with commentaries were read out at mealtimes, walks were taken in double file and the rules called for the maintenance of unity and harmony, avoiding anything that might cast a shadow over communal life.

His commentary on Saint Augustine's *City of God* (*Comentaria ad libros De Civitate Dei D. Aurelii Agustini*) (Louvain-Bruges, 1521-22), a work commissioned by Erasmus and dedicated to King Henry VIII, is a brilliant critical, historical and philological interpretation surpassing anything previously published. He had close contacts with the Court. Cardinal Wolsey honoured him with his friendship; it was he who dubbed Vives as 'doctor melifluo' because his prose flowed like honey. Although he had established a worldwide reputation and was in receipt of a royal pension, Vives lived in straitened circumstances.

An outstanding member of the brilliant humanist cultural group at the English Court with which Vives communicated was Thomas More, the most famous of the English humanists and the most admired and respected by Henry VIII, who would eventually send him to the block for opposing his divorce from Queen Catherine. Vives also opposed this divorce and was obliged on that account to return to Louvain in 1528. His friendship with the powerful never caused him to waver in his convictions.

Thomas More, whom he met as early as 1520, had a profound influence on Vives. Until then, his works had been basically humanist in character, with a religious dimension that he never failed to cultivate. The bulk of his writings consisted of commentaries on a wide variety of classical authors through whom he sought to introduce his pupils to the Graeco-Latin world. But from that time onwards, he emerged as a thinker dedicated to the writing of voluminous works on philosophy, morals, social policy and education – from the time of his retirement to Bruges until his death in 1540. The impact of Thomas More is particularly significant because of his deep social commitment, clearly expressed in *Utopia.* Utopia is the name of an island discovered by a Portuguese navigator, who begins a new wholesome life there, based on natural morals and religion in opposition to the corrupt, debased, bellicose environment around him.

De subventione pauperam [Help for the Poor] (Bruges, 1526) by Vives, and a large number of letters on the virtues of peace, reveal the political, social and ethical influence of Thomas More. The title of Chapter IX, Book I, of this book reflects the thinking of both: 'What God gives to each person is not given for each person alone.'[8]

The humanist philosopher

Luis Vives is not easy to classify as a philosopher. His education was that available at the time, especially in the Paris Faculty of Arts, that is to say the various strands of scholasticism based on Aristotle, although in his *Censura de Aristotelis operibus* [Critique of Aristotle's Works] (1538) he specifies his position as follows: 'Viewing the matter as carefully and thoroughly as possible, I conclude that pride of place must be given to Aristotle.'[9] This does not mean that a statement may be defended solely on the authority of Aristotle or of any other philosopher. Truth is infinite because it is a work of God and therefore transcends all human capacity, having ever to be conquered anew. Some have gone so far as to speak of a 'Vivist' system, but this seems to be somewhat excessive. He took what he considered most valid from a variety of thinkers and combined it in a Christian world-view, based partly on Aristotle but also rooted in or at least sharing features with a great deal of classical thinking: Plato, Cicero, Seneca, Saint Thomas, Augustinism and occasionally Parisian nominalism.

In the first paragraph of his *De prima philosophia* [First Philosophy] (Bruges, 1531), he specifies his object and method. He sets out to investigate the causes of Nature, maintaining that our guide, notwithstanding the darkness that clouds our minds, is what we can attain through experience and reflection, since what cannot be demonstrated by reason draws us into the realm of fantasy and illusion.[10] This reliance on experience in a work of philosophy was unusual in his time and presaged the empiricist schools of thought of the Renaissance.

Death overtook him in the course of a work that represented his greatest endeavour, *De veritate fidei christianae* [On the Truth of the Christian Faith] (Bruges, 1540). He affirms in it that the truth of things surpasses human reason, which has to yield and discover reality on the basis of accurate observation, even though there are some who erroneously claim that man is the measure of all things. He rejects the dual theory developed in Parisian Averroistic circles according to which something may be true in philosophy and false in theology and vice versa. Such paradoxes and sleight of hand have no place in the thought of Vives.

The fruit of a lifetime's teaching remains in the form of his 'Introductions' and 'Commentaries' devoted to classical authors. He wrote incessantly from the age of 22 onwards. His oratory and dialectical skills and powers of persuasion are in the best classical tradition, especially of the Latin authors, who were in those days considered to hold the keys to education, transcending the arid nominalist scholasticism that held sway in Paris. However, his worldview is essentially scholastic in its most varied dimensions and, above all, deeply Christian.

Among his 'Introductions', 'Commentaries' and 'Prelections', we may refer in particular to the *Praelectio in leges Ciceronis* [Book of Cicero's Laws] (Paris, 1514), *Praefatio in georgica Virgilii* [The Georgics] (Louvain, 1518) and *In bucolica Virgilii* [The Bucolics] (Breda, 1537), *Declamationes quinque Syllanae*

[Sullanian Declamations] (Louvain, 1520) and *Isocrates oratio Aeropagitica* [The Areopagite Oration] (Oxford, 1523). In general, the command of rhetoric revealed by these works makes them a joy to read.

Vives, together with Budé, More and Erasmus, followed the path of Christian humanism. Those of his works usually classified as devotional include: *Meditationes in septem psalmos paenitentiales* [Meditations on the Seven Penitential Psalms] (Louvain, 1517-1518); and *Exercitationes animi in Deum* [Exercises of the Soul towards God] (Bruges, 1535).

The judgement of his contemporaries when he was still a young man may help us to understand the importance of Vives. Erasmus, normally so critical, did not hesitate to write in a letter dated 13 February 1519 to the court physician Juan de la Parra, tutor to Prince Ferdinand of Hapsburg, brother of Charles V: 'We have with us Joan Lluis Vives, a Valencian, only 26 years of age but already well versed in all the philosophical subjects, who has made such strides in *belles-lettres*, eloquence, oratory and writing that I hardly know of anyone to compare with him.' Thomas More said in a letter to Erasmus in 1520: 'Nothing in Vives fails to give great pleasure to all. I myself draw special satisfaction from his work against the pseudo-dialecticians . . . because I find the same subjects discussed there as I dealt with myself some time ago, even before reading Vives, and I had adduced the same arguments.'[11]

The peacemaker

Luis Vives wrote letters to those who held the fate of Europe in their hands in the first half of the sixteenth century. The common denominator of these letters, some of which are in effect dissertations, is the search for a peace that everyone seemed bent on destroying. Europe, torn by endless strife, was for Vives a subject of deep and earnest concern. Words of advice to kings and to the Pope flowed constantly from his pen. Such was his intellectual and moral influence.

In 1522 he wrote from Louvain his letter to Pope Adrian VI *De Europae statu ac tumultibus* [On the Unrest and Disturbances in Europe]. 'Two things are requested and expected of You: silence of arms among princes and the cessation of all sedition among ordinary citizens.'[12]

He wrote to Henry VIII of England about the imprisonment of the King of France, Francis I, by Charles V in 1525 (*Ad Henricum VIII angliae regem, de rege Galliae capto*). He warned him in his letter that 'what happened to the King of France could happen to any one of you'[13] and urged him to show restraint in victory and not to vent his fury on an innocent, defenceless nation. He again wrote to the king in 1525: 'Just as earnestly as I have always pleaded the cause of peace with Your Majesty and all the other Princes with whom I have enjoyed any favour, I shall rejoice, now that peace is again in the air, both for the public good and for the good of the Princes themselves'.[14] This letter, written in Bruges, contains the following statement:

There is no war so advantageous as to be preferable to peace, however disastrous; one need only consider the worry, the expense or the danger it occasions. . . . How many have repented of starting a war even under the most auspicious circumstances! And how nobody has regretted peace though secured at a cost![15]

He dedicated his treatise *De concordia et discordia in humano genere* [Concord and Discord in Humankind] (Bruges, 1526) to Charles V, King of Spain, closing with these words: 'Nothing will arouse your horror more than hatred and discord and you will pursue nothing with more zeal than concord and love.'[16]

His work *De pacificatione* [On Peacemaking] (Bruges, 1529), addressed to Don Alfonso Manrique, Archbishop of Seville, opens with this statement: 'Nobody can claim to be a Christian . . . not a single individual, without striving for peace, concord, charity and mutual goodwill.'[17]

These writings on peace deserve to be reread. His resourcefulness in arguing his case, the manifold reasons adduced, his description of the factors that make us stray from the path of peace and of the worldview on which politics should be based are still a source of strength and encouragement and an example of beauty.

Vives the educationist

Luis Vives was the first systematic educational theorist of the Renaissance. His magnum opus *De disciplinis* [On Disciplines] (Bruges, 1531), which he dedicated to King John III of Portugal and which inspired a course of studies at Coimbra University, is the most prolific source of his educational thought. But almost all his works have to be consulted in order to understand Vives' approach to education.

For Vives, the source of wisdom was not to be sought in the textbooks of scholastic philosophy or in the interminable dialectical arguments fraught with subtleties and futilities of the University of Paris, but rather in the outstanding authors of Greece and Rome. Wisdom has been accumulated slowly over the centuries and we have to turn to the past, consulting the sources with a critical eye, in order to cull unique and matchless treasures from its rich fountainhead. In the first book of *De disciplinis*, he expresses the view that this vast store of classical wisdom is being forgotten or that it has come down to us in an impaired state. He lists the causes of corruption in the arts: unruly passions that hamper progress in the search for truth; the arrogance of the pseudo-dialectician; the desire to stand out; undue concern with subtle distinctions; intransigence; unwillingness to accept the truth from others; lack of a critical sense; the incompetence of teachers; hatred; the obscurity of authors such as Aristotle and of his commentators; and falsification or modification of original works.

His veneration for the classical world is combined with the critical outlook of the Renaissance. As a result, he takes issue with authors hallowed by the

centuries, in particular with Aristotle, despite his unchallenged authority at the time, in his work *Censura de Aristotelis operibus.*

Each of the disciplines forming part of the university curriculum (grammar, dialectics, rhetoric, natural philosophy, medicine, mathematics, moral philosophy and civil law) is subjected to a critical analysis that reveals the causes of its decadence. His fiercest criticism is reserved for dialectics, a discipline awash with futilities and trivialities.

His commentaries on teaching are among his most brilliant and interesting writings. Part II of the book *De disciplinis* is entitled *De tradendis disciplinis* [The Art of Teaching] but his contribution to the science of education is evident throughout his work. Book II provides a systematic view of teaching, no longer confined to the university, although the latter inspires the most extensive and finest part of his prolific writings. The key themes are presented at the outset: 'We must first examine, for each type of instruction, the question of *what, how, to what extent, by whom and where* it should be taught.'[18]

His teleological and theological ideas are clearly apparent in Chapter IV where he states that God is the supreme and ultimate end and that the arts must contribute to God's greater glory. But if there is one characteristic that sets him apart from other humanists, it is the moral dimension of his educational theory. The ethical imperative is a theme that runs through all his writings. The goal of the arts is erudition, development of the mental faculties and, above all, virtue.

In classical Latin culture, he is particularly interested in orators, for whom the use of words is not a mere literary game or a theoretical exercise but has a public function, that of convincing the masses and settling legal issues, so that words have an operative role, shaping individual and social circumstances. Without oratorical skills a public figure is doomed to failure; hence the interest that Vives took in Cicero, commenting on many passages in his writings and dedicating to him a number of his 'Introductions' based on university lectures. He also drew inspiration from Quintilian. In the Greek world, it was the speeches of Isocrates that prompted him to put pen to paper.

The subject to which he devoted most space and attention, not only in this book but throughout his work, was that of the teacher. 'Teachers should not only possess the skills required for sound instruction . . . they should also set an example of flawless conduct. They must above all avoid saying or doing anything that might set a bad example to or scandalize those they are instructing and refrain from any act not worthy of imitation.'[19] 'Those who qualify as teachers should do so not only by virtue of their learning but also by virtue of their conduct, inasmuch as learning that is not keyed to life is harmful.'[20] The work ends with an essay, *The Life and Manners of the Humanist*, which describes the ideal teacher, who is actually the living image of Vives himself.[21]

It is generally agreed today that education and guidance must go hand in hand. Teachers do not merely instruct. To perform their principal function of educating, they must assume the role of a guide, helping individual students to take judicious decisions about their studies, occupation and life. Counselling

depends on analysis of students' abilities and interests so that they can be informed of the most appropriate course of studies and job opportunities for optimum vocational and social integration.

> Children should stay at school for one or two months during which their intellectual abilities and qualities of character are assessed. The teachers should meet in camera four times a year to compare their impressions of the potential of their respective pupils and discuss the approach to be adopted in the light of individual aptitudes.[22]

Luis Vives devotes many pages to the subject, especially the whole of Chapter IV of Book II of *De disciplinis*, where he shows how to determine the most appropriate course of studies for individual students. They must be assigned various activities to observe their reactions. One of the first tests of innate ability is arithmetic. He agrees with Quintilian that memory is crucial, both for ease of perception and for accurate retention. Games that reveal keen intelligence are a highly important yardstick, as children competing with others tend to act spontaneously without the slightest shadow of pretence. Emulation highlights and reveals resourcefulness, patterns of behaviour, leadership and management qualities, initiative and, in effect, their inner nature. Freedom is a basic prerequisite. Those engaged in an activity for which they are well fitted invariably do best. Teachers have to exercise great caution and avoid being over-hasty. It is therefore unwise to despair too soon of a doubtful or even weak intelligence, and likewise to invest too much hope in a strong intelligence. There are many examples of changes in cast of mind and patterns of behaviour in society and in school. Some people whose intelligence has been underrated have performed well in the long run. Vives draws attention to the risks incurred when parents force studies on their children, either through excessive love because they want the best for them or in response to the prevailing custom, which in those days demanded that they be channelled into careers in the military, the church, trade or literature, regardless of their abilities and aptitudes, as though just anybody were capable of anything.

A well-explored theme in modern psychology is the influence of the teacher's attitude on the pupil's performance. Vives notes that once students have been steered into a particular type of activity, both parents and teachers must cherish the highest hopes. After enrolment in school, pupils should on no account be discouraged without a serious attempt to improve their performance, both academically and in terms of behaviour.

All human beings should acquire a thorough knowledge of themselves, also of their fragility and propensity to evil. We are often told of the optimism of 'Renaissance Man', his renewed respect for the natural condition, but this other factor, the negative side, the passions and evil inclinations, are always taken into acount by Vives. Teachers must be aware of both good and bad tendencies so that they can stimulate desirable character traits and discourage undesirable ones.

Vives agreed with the humanist psychology of his time in stressing the need for the student to feel appreciated and respected. He therefore recommended that the teacher should show affection comparable to that of a parent: a love that fosters the noblest traits without overlooking those that must be corrected and remedied. The teacher should win the student's affection through benign affability and the pupils will in turn respect and venerate their teachers.

Vives also gave considerable attention to the location of schools, which should be established in healthy surroundings. This requirement was even more essential at that time in view of the risk of epidemics. They were to be located in areas where there was plenty of wholesome food, far removed from noisy crowds and from the public highway. 'There is no cause for surprise at such meticulousness in seeking a place for knowledge to be born and to grow; it is like looking for a place to put a beehive so that the bees will leave us their honey.'[23] Environmental factors in education, which are currently the subject of so much research, already figured in Vives' theory of education.

His empirical bent is evident in his working method, which was always based on the experience of his surroundings and on the application of what is now called 'action-oriented research': observing prevailing conditions, pinpointing problems, designing models for action and comparing them with real-life situations. He stressed that a great deal of experimentation and observation is required before general rules can be formulated.

His empirical approach is also evident in his *De anima et vitae* [On the Soul and on Life] (Bruges, 1538), which opens with the following methodological statement: 'Anything that is not of an accidental nature capable of being perceived by our senses and that is not implicit in such accidental phenomena can be known by us only through its functioning.'[24] He studies the functions that we share with the animals, our various mental functions and especially the passions, to which he devotes Book III, in which his observation and personal analysis reach full maturity – one of his most remarkable achievements.

A key theme of startling topicality and a distinctive feature of Vives' educational theory is the cultivation of language, which is inseparably linked to reason and which sets us apart from the animals. Language is an indispensable means of human intercourse. Students must be offered sound models of language and conduct, not only by their parents and teachers but by everyone with whom they have dealings. Language is the repository of learning. 'It would be ideal if the human race had just one language or, barring that, at least one used without distinction by most peoples and nations.'[25] The ideal universal language, whose properties he enumerates, had to be Latin in view of its widespread use by many nations and peoples. There is scarcely any art or science without literary monuments. It would be a shame not to cultivate or conserve them. He regrets the fact that Muslims and Christians do not have a common language. But since the ideal is unattainable, he calls for the establishment of language schools in most towns, teaching not only the usual three – Latin, Greek and Hebrew – but also Arabic and even the whole range of dialects.

Children must be educated from the age of 7 to the age of 15, although much will depend on the ability of the pupil. Mother tongues, national languages, Latin and Greek are of major importance.

> The Latin language gained by borrowing from the Greek, just as Latin enriched the remaining languages of Europe, especially . . . Italian, Spanish and French, the speakers of which would greatly benefit from familiarity with Latin both to understand it properly, and hence all the arts through its medium, and to purify and enrich the native language derived from it.[26]

From the first lesson in reading down to university education, clear and detailed practical standards are prescribed in respect of teaching and learning procedures, specifying recommended authors and passages and the attitude that pupils should adopt to studies.

His work *De ratione studii puerilis* [On the Right Method of Instruction for Children] (1523) deals with pre-university education. It consists of two brief treatises. The first is a work plan for use by the tutor of Princess Mary, daughter of the King and Queen of England and future wife of Philip II of Spain. The first stage is learning to read the letters of the alphabet. After the syllables and words come the parts of speech, with reading and writing proceeding hand in hand. Next comes declination, conjugation of verbs, syntax and translation from English into Latin. He recommends Cicero, Seneca, Plutarch, Plato, Saint Jerome and Saint Augustine. Among the moderns, he cites Erasmus with *Enchiridion* and Thomas More's *Utopia*. The pupil should always have a dictionary at hand to look up any unfamiliar word.

To avert the risk of an individualist education, other young girls of irreproachable conduct should study with the princess to promote a certain amount of emulation, closer acquaintanceship and the desire to excel, and to guard against the conceit induced by isolation.

Part II of *De ratione studii puerilis* starts with religion, recommending piety and attendance at religious ceremonies. Love of work is commended since God withholds his gifts from the idle. Pupils must be industrious both in their studies and in seeking to attain virtue. Memory is a recurrent theme in Vives since it is the store of all learning and can be improved with constant exercise. He describes how notes should be taken: pupils should collect terms, expressions, ideas and whatever deserves to be recorded. He urges them to cultivate a nimble and practised hand in writing and never to approach a teacher without pen and paper lest the words fly over their head. He encourages them to ask questions: 'Don't be ashamed; the harm is not in asking but in not knowing'.[27]

Vives' style is oratorical, teeming with quotations and full of persuasive arguments. Hence his reverence for the great master Cicero and for Quintilian in his *Instituto oratoria* [The Training of an Orator]. Public life calls for the training of orators and such training was vital both for his individual pupils among the royalty and nobility and for university students. *De ratione discendi* [The Art of Speaking] (1532) was written in response to that need. He notes in the dedica-

tion that human society is bound together by justice and speech, but that more influence is exercised by the latter. Supremacy lies with those most gifted in the art of speech. In studies of rhetoric, Aristotle is a key teacher. The aim is not to provide training in empty verbosity. Speakers were to draw their arguments from the problems of philosophy, familiarity with classical antiquity and experience of life. It was not by chance that the great orators of Athens and Rome emerged at great moments of freedom and vigour in society. He culls from the ancient tradition whatever seems important, always with a practical end in view, and states that his entire system is designed to produce an immediate enhancement of the powers of speech. Some authors prepared orators for court proceedings or politics, but Vives claimed to train them for all aspects of public life.

What is important in language is to communicate content. Ideas are the life and soul of words, which, in their absence, remain sterile and meaningless. According to a classical saying, the orator is a good person skilled in speaking (*vir bonus peritus dicendi*). This is a recurrent idea that runs through most of his work.

His *Exercitatio linguae latinae* [Exercises in the Latin Language] (1538) ran into more than 100 editions and was used to teach Latin to many generations in the old and new continents. Its last two dialogues deal with 'Education' (XXIII) and 'Precepts of Education' (XXIV). The penultimate argues that the good consists of: knowledge, love of God, country, parents and friends, justice, temperance, generosity, magnanimity, etc. These values remain constant throughout his work.

Vives' faith in education is well attested to in the second dialogue, when a child is taken to school for the first time:

> FATHER: This, my son, is the workshop in which human beings are forged. The man you see here is the master of the forge. God be with you, master. Uncover your head, child, and bend your right knee as I taught you; now stand up . . . I am bringing you my son here so that you can change him from the little beast he is now into a complete human being.
>
> FILIPONO (the teacher): I shall take the greatest care of him. It shall be as you say: he will change from a beast into a human being, from bad to good and into an upright man. Have no doubt about that.[28]

'Lifelong education' is a key modern idea of which UNESCO has been the leading interpreter and promoter. It was also repeatedly upheld by Luis Vives. In his view, study is an activity that should never be concluded; its end comes only with that of life itself. The quest for knowledge is unceasing and has three aspects: cognition, communication and doing good.

> [Humanists] will always thirst for knowledge and it will never occur to them that they have come to the end of learning. Seneca put it in strikingly accurate terms when he said that many could easily attain knowledge had they not convinced themselves of having already attained it. It was also Seneca who said in one of his letters to Lucilio: You should go on learning for as long as your ignorance lasts; and, if the proverb is to be believed, for

the whole of your life. The truth is that there is no knowledge in Nature so exhaustible and facile that it cannot occupy the whole lifetime of a mortal being.[29]

Humanists must serve as a model for others. The existence of great learning is not sufficient for a period to qualify as a golden age. The quality that makes a century happy and golden is not so much learning as when learned persons make practical use of the knowledge that they profess in their lives, so that those who hear them and see them are moved to exclaim: here are people who speak as they live and live as they speak.

Humanists must be critical: they cannot confine themselves to one author or set limits on their personal thinking but must form an opinion without reference to that of others or even to their own conclusions when they see on reflection that they have been superseded.

In *De institutione feminae christianae* [The Education of the Christian Woman] (1523), he gives advice on the education and conduct of women from maidenhood through married life to widowhood. Girls must be educated from birth. In early childhood play is essential but the playthings should be such as will prepare them for their domestic chores. At the age of 7, girls were to be introduced to reading and writing and also to the manual tasks that fell to women in those days. A woman should never be idle. One of her tasks was to read good books and whatever contributed towards good conduct. He goes on to recommend the classics of the Greek and Roman world and lays special emphasis on the Fathers of the Church, Saint Jerome, Saint Augustine, and the New Testament. He dedicated this work to Queen Catherine, wife of Henry VIII, by whom he claimed to have been inspired. It seems odd that, although he concerned himself with the education of a princess, he was adamant that women should not use cosmetics, dye their hair or wear showy jewellery or lavish clothes, that is to say anything that implied arrogance or provocation to a person of austere temperament. The ascetic and moral side of his character extended even to these details.

Historical influence of Luis Vives

What impact did Luis Vives have on European and universal thought? The four-hundredth anniversary of his death and the five-hundredth anniversary of his birth prompted a considerable number of studies and congresses on Vives and showed that his work still stands as a contribution to universal culture. In 1974 Madrid was the venue for the sixth International Congress of Classical Studies, of which the theme was 'Tribute to Luis Vives'; in 1980 a symposium on 'Juan Luis Vives' was held in Wolfenbüttel (Germany) and in 1986 a symposium on 'Erasmus in Spain, Vives in Belgium' was held in Bruges (Belgium).

Bonilla y San Martín made a systematic study of Vives' thought and demonstrated the multifaceted nature of his achievements in the light of a classification of the sciences.

A. Lange, the great disseminator of Vivist thought in the Germanic world, evaluated Vives' significance as a philosopher and stressed his outstanding contribution to the Renaissance. He considers Vives to be the most outstanding figure in modern educational science prior to Pestalozzi.

Tomás Carreras Artau, the historian of Spanish thought, has made him the subject of much of his work.

Foster Watson, indefatigable researcher on Vives, attaches the utmost significance to Vives' ideas about education and maintains that Vives is the father of modern and experimental psychology.

Pedro Sainz Rodríguez says in *Homenaje a Luis Vives* [Tribute to Luis Vives]:

> Vives' fame is to be attributed to the following that he acquired and to the influence that he exerted on many of the major works of his time. We can gauge his standing in the eyes of his contemporaries from, for example, the correspondence of Thomas More and Erasmus, in which both expatiated on the exceptional merits of their friend. His followers formed what can truly be called a pleiad. If we were to sketch their individual biographies, they would constitute a chapter in the history of culture. There is a tradition in Spanish culture of respect for the work of Vives, who has influenced many thinkers and writers.[30]

Wilhelm Dilthey maintains that Vives is the first systematic writer in the field of anthropology and that his work marks the transition from metaphysical to descriptive psychology.

The Scottish school of Reid, Dugald Stewart and William Hamilton was inspired by Vives and quoted him. Through them – and also directly – he influenced such Spanish thinkers of the nineteenth century as Eixalá, Lloréns y Barba, Giner de los Rios, Menéndez y Pelayo and Balmes.

In a study of Vives, Ortega y Gasset, the great twentieth-century Spanish philosopher, reviewed his exemplary life and work, noting that for four centuries, without interruption or dissent, he had enjoyed the high esteem of the most outstanding minds. 'With amazing foresight, a Brunswick scholar chose Vives as the subject of an academic thesis as early as 1531 (when Vives was only 39 years old), entitling his study *Philosopho praesertim Anthropologo* – "A Philosopher and above all an Anthropologist".'[31]

Gregorio Mayans y Ciscar contributed most towards bringing Vives and his work to the attention of the world through his edition *J. L. Vivis Valentini. Opera omnia* (Valencia, 1782-90).

After Erasmus, the indisputable master and leader, Vives was one of the most widely read authors throughout the sixteenth century. Already in his own lifetime, his works ran into more than 100 editions. In the seventeenth century there were forty-six editions of *Introductio ad sapientiam*, forty-nine of *Exercitatio linguae latinae* and thirty-two of *De institutione feminae christianae*, translated into most European languages: Dutch, English, French, German, Italian and Spanish.

The translation into Spanish by Lorenzo Riber of *Luis Vives: Obras completas* (1948), published by Aguilar, also helped to bring out his relevance. It has been reprinted by the Consell Valencia de Cultura.

Vives has been termed a European educationist, with reference not only to his geographical background but also to the stirring task of shaping a new Europe, whose emerging values can today be recognized in his works.

We now turn to a document of singular importance, which is consonant with the basic principles of Vives' thought. It was prepared by the Council of Europe for the fortieth anniversary of its foundation. Entitled *Trends in European Educational Systems: An Overall Picture*, it summarizes national projects and reports and the sources of its Documentation Centre. Paragraph 2.1.3 on *Value education* states:

> Europe is more than the Common Market; it has to be based on common values such as the values derived from Jewish, Greek, Roman and Christian heritage. Examples of these values are acceptance of human rights . . . respect for different opinions, solidarity and love of one's neighbour; rather than egoism and stress on consumption, a sense of responsibility, reliability, open-mindedness for other cultures and races, other continents. Without moral values human beings cannot live together peacefully in Europe.[32]

These lines are like a compact version of the biography of Vives and of the milestones in his intellectual development.

Scientific and technological progress, unless accompanied by all-round human development, may lead to serious imbalances and even end in disaster. Rediscovering the roots of European and universal culture in its outstanding figures and in the great thinkers who blazed new trails and gave expression to the highest ideals is an urgent task of modern civilization, which obviously has a mission to fulfil in shaping the future, but whose lack of roots in the past may render many paths less accessible in the time to come.

The Generalitat, the University and the City Council of Valencia, his native city, are preparing a major critical edition of his works, together with studies by qualified specialists, which will add to his impact and serve to highlight his relevance for present and future generations. Such endeavours demonstrate the importance currently attached to his writings and to the rich cluster of educational values disseminated and defended through his massive output.

If the message of Vives – humanist, educationist and man of peace – to the modern world were to be summarized in a single sentence, we have no hesitation, even at the risk of over-simplifying, in expressing it in the same terms as the Preamble to the Constitution of UNESCO: 'Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed'.

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LEV S. VYGOTSKY[1]

(1896–1934)

Ivan Ivić

The scientific work of Lev S. Vygotsky has had a remarkable destiny. The man himself, one of the greatest psychologists of the twentieth century, never received any formal training in psychology. His death at the age of 37 put an end to his research after only ten years or so, and he did not see the publication of his most important works. And yet this 'Mozart of psychology' (as the philosopher S. Toulmin called him) constructed one of the most promising theories in psychology. More than fifty years after his death, now that his major works have been published, Vygotsky has become an avant-garde writer. According to one of his best exponents, 'There is no doubt that, in many respects, Vygotsky is far ahead of our own time' (Rivière, 1984, p. 120).

Such a phenomenon, so rare in the history of science, may perhaps be explained by two closely connected factors: first, the scope and originality of his scientific writings over a relatively short period offer clear proof of his genius. Second, he was working at a time of dramatic historical change, namely the October Revolution in Russia. At the heart of the psychological system constructed by Vygotsky we find an ontogenetic theory of mental development that is also in many aspects a historical theory of individual development. In other words, it is a genetic conception of a genetic phenomenon. No doubt there is an epistemological lesson to be drawn from this: it would seem that historical periods of revolutionary change sharpen the sensitivity of human thought and predispose it in favour of everything that concerns genesis, transformation, dynamic evolution and the future.

The life and work of Vygotsky

Lev Semionovich Vygotsky was born at Orsha, a small town in Belarus, on 17 November 1896. After attending the gymnasium at Gomel, he began his university studies in law, philosophy and history at Moscow in 1912. His school and university education provided him with an excellent training in the humanities –

language and linguistics, aesthetics and literature, philosophy and history. At the early age of 20 he wrote a voluminous study on Hamlet. He displayed a lively interest in poetry, drama, language and questions of signs and meaning, the theory of literature, the cinema, and the issues of history and philosophy, long before he began his research in psychology. It is important to note that the first book by Vygotsky, which was to point him once and for all towards psychology, was *The Psychology of Art*, published in 1925.

An interesting parallel can be drawn with Jean Piaget. They were born in the same year, and neither received any formal training in psychology; like Piaget, Vygotsky became the author of a remarkable theory of mental development. From adolescence onwards throughout his long life, however, Piaget was attracted by biology, and this difference in inspiration may account for the difference between two important paradigms in developmental psychology: Piaget placed the emphasis on structural aspects and on the essentially universal laws (of biological origin) of development, whereas Vygotsky stressed the contribution of culture, social interaction and the historical dimension of mental development.

After university Vygotsky returned to Gomel, where he engaged in a wide variety of intellectual activities. He taught psychology, began to take an interest in the problems of handicapped children and continued his study of the theory of literature and the psychology of art. After his first professional successes in psychology (papers submitted to national congresses), in 1924 he settled in Moscow and began work at the Institute of Psychology. It was there that Vygotsky, surrounded by fellow workers as passionately interested as himself in a thorough reconstruction of psychology, created in one prodigious decade (1924-34) his historical-cultural theory of psychological phenomena.

The essential writings and professional activities of Vygotsky, long neglected, have only recently been gradually rediscovered and reconstituted. The interested reader can now find them in the following works: Levitin (1982), Luria (1979), Mecacci (1983), Rivière (1984), Schneuwly and Bronckart (1985), Valsiner (1988) and, of course, in the six-volume collection of works by Vygotsky (Vygotsky, 1982-84).

In the course of those few years of research Vygotsky wrote some 200 works, a number of which have been lost. The principal source remains his *Complete Works*, published in Russian between 1982 and 1984; despite its title, however, this does not contain all his writings that have been preserved, and several of his previously published books and articles have not yet been reissued.

The most complete bibliography of the works of Vygotsky, together with a list of translations and studies on him, is to be found in the sixth volume of the *Complete Works* and in Schneuwly and Bronckart (1985). It should be noted in passing that certain presentations of Vygotsky, particularly some of those in English, have been rather unfortunate and, in particular, have occasioned many misunderstandings. This is especially true of the highly distorted presentation in English of Vygotsky's most important work *Thought and Language*, published in 1962. It is to be hoped that the editions of the *Complete Works* currently being

prepared in several languages (English, Italian, Spanish, Serbo-Croat, etc.) will help foreign scholars to gain a more accurate understanding of Vygotsky's real thinking. The bibliographical data in the original version of the *Complete Works*, together with the commentaries to be found in each volume, will, moreover, make it easier to reconstruct the origin and growth of his ideas. Such a reconstruction will, among other things, make for a sounder interpretation of his thinking, particularly those ideas that were formulated in various ways in works written at different times.

Be this as it may, there will always remain a further difficulty for readers unable to study the texts of Vygotsky in Russian: in creating an original theoretical system, Vygotsky at the same time invented a terminology that was capable of expressing the new approach. In consequence, any translation runs the risk of distorting those ideas, at least to some extent.

From the corpus of Vygotsky's ideas we shall attempt here a brief analysis of those that are relevant to education, leaving aside his thinking concerning the methodology of science, general psychology, the psychology of art, handicapped children, etc. Our discussion will therefore concentrate on two points: the educational implications of Vygotsky's theory of mental ontogenesis; and the analysis of his strictly and explicitly educational ideas.

The interpretations offered are, needless to say, our own. Having long studied the texts of Vygotsky we shall, rather than reproduce his words, attempt to capture the deeper meaning of his ideas, to develop those ideas and to present them in language that is understandable for readers unfamiliar with his works. Then, going a step further than the mere presentation of Vygotsky's ideas about education, we shall briefly consider the application of those ideas in educational research and in everyday teaching practice.

Theory of mental development and problems of education

If we were to characterize Vygotsky's theory by employing a series of keywords or expressions, the following at least could not fail to be mentioned: human sociability, social interaction, sign and instrument, culture, history, and higher mental functions. And if we were to link these words and expressions together in a single formula, we could say that the theory of Vygotsky is a 'socio-historico-cultural theory of the development of higher mental functions' as against the more frequent description of it as simply a 'historical-cultural theory'.

For Vygotsky, the human being is characterized by a 'primary sociability'. The same idea is expressed more categorically by Henri Wallon: 'The individual is genetically social' (Wallon, 1959). During the lifetime of Vygotsky, that principle was no more than a purely theoretical hypothesis. Today, however, it is safe to say that the idea of a primary sociability, to some extent genetically determined, has virtually achieved the status of an established scientific fact. This is due to the convergence of two currents of research: on the one hand, biological research on, for instance, the role of sociability in anthropogenesis or on the

morpho-functional development of the infant (for example, there is increasing evidence that the areas of the brain governing social functions, such as the perception of a human face or voice, reach maturity earlier and more quickly than others); on the other hand, recent empirical research on social development in earliest childhood offers abundant proof of the existence of a primary and very early sociability (Bowlby, 1971; Schaffer, 1971; Zazzo, 1974, 1986; Thoman, 1979; Lamb and Scherrod, 1981; Tronick, 1982; Lewis and Rosenblum, 1974; Stambak et al., 1983; Zaporožec and Lissina, 1974; Lissina, 1986; Ignjatovic-Savic et al, 1989).

Theoretical analysis led Vygotsky to advance some quite visionary ideas on the early sociability of the child and take them to their logical conclusion in constructing a theory of child development. He wrote in 1932 (Vygotsky, 1982-84, Vol. 4, p. 281):

> It is through the mediation of others, through the mediation of the adult, that the child undertakes activities. Absolutely everything in the behaviour of the child is merged and rooted in social relations. Thus, the child's relations with reality are from the start social relations, so that the newborn baby could be said to be in the highest degree a social being.

The sociability of children is the basis for their social interactions with the people around them. The problems raised by the psychology of social interaction are now well known; we shall therefore confine ourselves here to some brief comments on a few distinctive traits of Vygotsky's theory. Human beings, by reason of their origin and nature, can neither exist nor develop in the normal way for their species as isolated monads: part of them is necessarily anchored in other human beings – in isolation they are not complete beings. For the development of the child, particularly in early infancy, the most important factor is asymmetrical interaction, that is, interaction with adults who are vectors of all the messages of that culture. In this type of interaction the essential role is played by signs and various semiotic systems whose initial purpose, from the genetic standpoint, is to assist communication and, later, individuation, when they begin to be used as tools for the organization and control of individual behaviour.[2] That is the crux of Vygotsky's conception of social interaction, which plays a formative role, a constructive function, in the child's development. In other words, certain types of higher mental functions, such as deliberate attention, logical memory, verbal and conceptual thought and complex emotions, could not emerge and take form in the development process without the constructive assistance of social interaction.[3]

This idea led Vygotsky to generalizations whose heuristic value is far from exhausted, even today. We are thinking here of his famous theory concerning the transformation of interpsychic phenomena into intrapsychic phenomena. Here is one formulation of that idea (Vygotsky, 1982-84, Vol. 4, p. 56):

> The most important and the most fundamental of the laws that account for genesis and towards which we are led by the study of higher mental functions could be expressed as

follows: each instance of semiotic behaviour by the child originated as a form of social collaboration, which is why semiotic behaviour, even in the more advanced stages of development, remains a social mode of functioning. The history of the development of higher mental functions is thus seen to be the history of the process by which the tools of social behaviour are transformed into instruments of individual psychological organization.

The admirable research done by Vygotsky on the basis of that idea focuses on the relationship between thought and language during ontogeny. Indeed, this is the central theme of his work *Thought and Language*. We now know that the child's capacity to acquire language is strongly determined by heredity.

Vygotsky's research reveals that, even so, heredity is not a sufficient condition and that a contribution from the social environment in the form of a quite specific type of teaching process is also needed. According to Vygotsky, this teaching process is simply the process of constructing in common during activities involving the child and the adult, that is, in social interaction. During this preverbal collaboration, the adult introduces language, which, building on preverbal communication, serves in the beginning as a tool for communication and social interaction. In his book on the subject Vygotsky describes the subtleties of the process by means of which language, as an instrument of social relations, is transformed into an instrument of internal psychic organization for the child (apparition of private language, internal language and verbal thought).

For our purpose, which is to explore the implications for education of the theory of development, there are several important conclusions to be drawn here. In the first place, we are confronted with an original answer to the question of the relationship between development and the teaching process: even for a function determined largely by heredity (such as language acquisition), the contribution of the social environment (the teaching process) is nevertheless constructive and is therefore more than a mere trigger mechanism, as it is for instinct, or a mere stimulant that simply speeds up the development of forms of behaviour that would have emerged anyway. The contribution of the teaching process derives from the fact that it provides the individual with a powerful tool, namely language. During the acquisition process this tool becomes an integral part of the psychic structure of the individual (with the development of internal language). But there is something in addition: the new acquisitions (such as language), which are of a social origin, start to interact with other mental functions such as thought. This encounter engenders new functions such as verbal thought. Here we meet a Vygotsky hypothesis that has not yet been sufficiently assimilated and exploited in research, even in present-day psychology: the crucial factor in development is not the progress of each function considered separately, but the changing relationship between different functions, such as logical memory, verbal thought, and so forth. In other words, development consists in the formation of composite functions, systems of functions, systemic functions and functional systems.

Vygotsky's analysis of the relationship between development and learning in the case of language acquisition leads us to define the first model of develop-

ment: in a natural process of development, learning is a means that reinforces this natural process by making available to it culture-generated tools that extend the natural possibilities of the individual and restructure his mental functions.

The role of adults as representatives of the culture in children's language acquisition process and in their assimilation of a part of the culture – the mother tongue – leads to the description of a new type of interaction besides social interaction that is of decisive importance to Vygotsky's theory, namely interaction with the products of culture. Needless to say, it is impossible to separate or to distinguish clearly between these two types of interaction, which often take the form of socio-cultural interaction.

To elucidate these ideas of Vygotsky, we shall draw upon Meyerson (1948), whose central idea is as follows; 'everything that is human tends to become objectified and to be projected in works' (p. 69). The task of psychology is 'to seek out the mental content in the facts of civilization described' (p. 14), or 'to discern the nature of the mental operations that are involved' (p. 138).

In analysing the role of culture in individual development, Vygotsky advanced similar ideas. Among all the acquisitions of culture, he focused his attention on the ones that would subsequently control mental processes and human behaviour, that is, the various instruments and techniques (even technologies) that people assimilate and turn towards themselves in order to influence their own mental functions. There thus emerges a gigantic system of 'artificial and external stimuli' by means of which people gain control over their own inner state. In Vygotsky, we encounter once again, but from a different angle, the phenomenon of interpsychism: from a psychological point of view, part of the individual is anchored in other individuals and another part in his or her works and culture, which, according to Marx, is the individual's 'non-organic body'. Marx's expression is highly appropriate: culture forms an integral part of the individual but it is, nevertheless, outside him. Hence the development of a person cannot be reduced solely to the changes taking place within the individual; it is also an allomorphic development capable of taking two different forms – the production of external aids as such and the creation of external tools that can be used to produce internal (psychological) changes. Thus, besides the instruments that human beings have invented throughout the course of their history and use to exercise control over objects (external reality), there exists another series of tools that, directed towards themselves, they can use to control, master and develop their own capacities.

These tools include – to mention just a few – spoken and written language (and, in McLuhan's phrase, the whole 'Gutenberg galaxy'), rituals, models of behaviour depicted in works of art, systems of scientific concepts, techniques that assist the memory or thinking, tools that improve motility or human perception, etc. All these cultural tools are 'extensions of man' (McLuhan, 1964), that is, extensions and amplifiers of human capacities.

To a cultural anthropologist, such a statement may appear commonplace, but in psychology, where concepts are traditionally coloured by subjectivity, it is

very rare for such cultural factors to be taken into account. Even cultural anthropologists, however, often confine themselves to a single aspect, the objectification of human capacities in the products of culture.

For McLuhan, and even more so for Vygotsky at a much earlier date, what is important are the psychological consequences, the impact of the existence of such tools on the development of the individual, namely, the interaction between the individual and these tools.

In his analysis of those consequences, Vygotsky starts from the famous aphorism of Francis Bacon, which crops up several times in his works: *Nec manus, nisi intellectus, sibi permissus, multum valent: instrumentis et auxilibus res perficitur* (The human hand and intelligence, without the necessary tools and aids, are relatively powerless; on the other hand, their strength is reinforced by the tools and aids provided by culture).

In the first place culture creates an ever-growing stock of powerful external aids (tools, apparatus, technologies) that back up psychological processes. From knots in a handkerchief or notches on a stick for the purpose of remembering certain events, up to powerful computerized data banks or modern information technologies, the progress in 'psychological technology' never ceases. Alongside the individual and natural memory or intelligence, there exists an external and artificial memory and intelligence. How effective would Europeans of today be if deprived of these technologies and left to themselves, 'with naked hand and intelligence'? Could psychology produce valid conceptualizations of higher mental processes without these external aids? The fact is, the very existence of these aids changes the nature of the process, which still takes place within the individual; to be convinced of this, one has only to observe the changes in the performance of straightforward arithmetical operations by people who have become accustomed to using pocket calculators. The real tasks for research are the analyses of the restructuring of inner processes when such aids are present and of the interaction between the external and internal aspects of those processes.

In addition to external aids, however, there exist in cultural works psychological tools that are capable of being internalized. These include all semiotic systems, all those skills and intellectual procedures and techniques of the media, intellectual operations and structures, and the models of intellectual activities to be found every time the acquisition of culture occurs.

Vygotsky, like McLuhan, did not conclude his analysis at the superficial level of such acquisition. He wanted to grasp its hidden and deeper meanings. The direction of his exploration is expressed in McLuhan's famous maxim: 'The medium is the message.' In other words, it is the medium that carries the profound meanings. This approach can be made more understandable by taking the example of a tool, such as written language (both authors considered this example). An individual – the same also applies to a cultural group, for that matter – who has mastered written language is not just one who also possesses a technical skill. Written language and book-based culture have a profound impact on the ways in which perception, memory and thought function. This is because

written language contains within itself a model for the analysis of reality (treatment in discrete units, linearity and temporality in the organization of thoughts, loss of the sense of totality, etc.) and psychological techniques including, in particular, an enhanced power of memory that alters the relationship between memory and thought. Hence individuals, in gaining access to the written language, appropriate for their own use the psychological techniques available in their culture, techniques that become 'internal techniques' (Vygotsky borrows this term from Claparède). Thus, a cultural tool takes root in individuals and becomes personal to them. When we consider present-day changes in technology, a question of considerable importance is raised: What are the consequences of the employment of modern intellectual (in my view, a more appropriate term than 'information') technologies, such as computers or computerized data banks, for individual cognitive processes?

Vygotsky's admirable research on the appropriation of cultural tools to serve as internal techniques deals with the formation of concepts: comparative studies on experimental concepts, spontaneous concepts and scientific concepts. The outcome of this research is presented in his book, *Thought and Language*.

At the heart of this research lies the acquisition of systems of scientific concepts, the most important acquisition during the period when a child is of school age. Vygotsky regards the system of scientific concepts as a cultural tool that is yet another vehicle for profound messages, and its assimilation by children induces profound changes in their mode of thought.

The essential property of scientific concepts is their structure, the fact that they are organized in hierarchical systems (other possible systems would include 'networks', 'groups', 'genealogical trees', etc.). When children interiorize a hierarchical structure, they extend considerably the possibilities of their thinking process because such a structure enables them to carry out a series of intellectual operations (different types of definition, logical quantification operations, etc.). The advantages of this structure become obvious when compared with 'practical' structures, for example, categories such as 'furniture', 'clothes' and so forth. If, for example, we attempt to give a logical definition of the term 'furniture', we quickly discover the limitations of practical categories or categories based on experience which lack the formal structure of scientific concepts. The advantages all individuals draw from the assimilation of such powerful intellectual tools are obvious.

The assimilation of systems of scientific concepts is made possible by systematic education of the type received at school. Organized systematic education is essential for this, unlike oral language acquisition in which teaching has a constructive role but requires no more than the presence of adults with a command of the language to act as partners in shared activities.

This brings us to the second model of development. Vygotsky calls this 'artificial development': 'education may be defined as the artificial development of the child. . . . Education is not limited simply to influencing developmental

processes; it restructures in a fundamental manner all behavioural functions' (Vygotsky, 1982-84, Vol. 1, p. 107).

The essential point is that education becomes development: whereas, in the first model of development, it was merely the means of reinforcing the natural process; in the second model, it is a relatively independent source of development. Using Vygotsky's theory, it is possible to identify several models of development – a point he explained himself on several occasions – by focusing on the period of development concerned, on the nature of the cultural tools, on the extent to which functions are determined by heredity, etc.

If allowance were made for the enormous range of cultural tools and techniques a person might or might not be given the opportunity to assimilate in particular cultures or periods of history, it would be fairly easy to conceptualize intercultural or historical differences in the cognitive development of groups and of individuals. With such a conception of the development of human intelligence it seems paradoxal to speak of 'culture-free tests of intelligence' (which Bruner calls 'intelligence-free tests') or to maintain that the only possible scientific definition of intelligence is one that reduces it to indicators such as reaction time, evoked potential, etc., as Eysenck (1988) does.

His analysis of this second model of development, the model of 'artificial development', exemplified in the process by which systems of concepts are assimilated, leads Vygotsky to his discovery of the metacognitive dimension of development. The fact is that the assimilation of knowledge systems based on such a degree of generalization, the interdependence of concepts within a network which smoothes the transition from one concept to another and simplifies the execution of intellectual operations, and the existence of external models (in books or demonstrated by the teacher) for the conduct of these operations, all facilitate the individual's realization (in Russian, *osoznanie*) and command (*ovladenie*) of their own cognitive processes. This process of deliberate self-regulation can be helped by the type of learning process (verbal learning, explanation of intellectual methods of approach, description of the concept-building process, concept-building in common, monitoring of the learning process by the adult expert, etc.).

In these conditions, the individual boy or girl would be able to achieve a fairly clear understanding of his or her own knowledge-acquisition processes and to exert deliberate control – the very essence of metacognitive processes – over them. Here it should be made clear that the writings of Vygotsky constitute the most important theoretical and historical source for the conceptualization and empirical study of metacognitive processes. Vygotsky's scientific achievement in this field is evident: instead of regarding metacognitive processes as no more than practical techniques for self-mastery (like mnemonics, for example) or as an isolated question (like most questions of metamemory), Vygotsky offers a theoretical framework. For him, the problems of metacognitive processes are integrated into a general theory concerning the development of higher mental functions. In his theory, these processes are seen as a stage that is necessary, in certain specified

conditions, for development. In return, they play an important role in the restructuring of cognition in general. This role provides the clearest illustration of Vygotsky's conception of development as the process whereby the relationships between particular mental functions are transformed. In this context, for example, even the term 'metamemory' (Flavell and Wellman, 1977) is inappropriate, since Vygotsky is not concerned here with the working of memorization techniques in the activity of memorization, but with the working in such activities of thought processes that have become conscious and deliberate. In other words, he is speaking about a new relationship between two distinct functions.

Even today, Vygotsky's theory is the only one that offers, at least in principle, the possibility of conceptualizing scientifically metacognitive processes, the only one that makes it possible to link up this dimension of cognitive development with cognitive development in general and to understand the source of a person's capacity to control his or her own inner processes (as a result of the transition, outlined by Vygotsky and mentioned above, from external interindividual control to personal intrapsychic control).

We shall conclude this part of our study by sketching in some possible ways in which Vygotsky's theory of mental development could be utilized in educational research and practice. In our view the most important ones are as follows:

First, no other psychological theory of development attaches so much importance to education. In Vygotsky's theory, education contains nothing that is external to development. As J. P. Bronckart rightly states (in Schneuwly and Bronckart, 1985, author's emphasis): '*The school becomes the natural arena of psychology* because it is the scene of learning processes and of the genesis of psychic functions'. That is why the theory could be effectively employed to improve our understanding of education-related phenomena – especially their role in development – to design educational research projects and to test practical applications.

Second, as a direct or indirect consequence of Vygotsky's theory, a whole series of new empirical research problems of capital importance for education have been incorporated into present-day psychology.

Research on the sociability of the infant (see sources already mentioned), a rapidly expanding area of research, has improved our understanding of early childhood, and there have already been some practical applications in the education of young children.[4]

The relationship between social interactions and cognitive development is one of Vygotsky's typical themes and is very much in fashion in present-day psychology; it stands at the interface between social psychology and cognitive psychology and has obvious practical applications in education (for example, Perret-Clermont, 1979; Doise and Mugny, 1981; CRESAS, 1987; Hinde et al., 1988; Rubčov, 1987; Wertsch, 1985*a*, 1985*c*).

Current research on semiotic mediation, on the role of semiotic systems in mental development, and on the development of language are manifestly strongly influenced by the ideas of Vygotsky (Ivić, 1978; Wertsch, 1985*b*; and others).

Third, Vygotsky's theory is historically and scientifically the only significant source in present-day psychology of research on metacognitive processes. It would be impossible to overestimate the importance of these processes in education and development. Even though highly productive theoretical and empirical research could be conceived within the framework of Vygotsky's theory, the absence of such research is the sole explanation for the continued neglect of these processes in education. There is no doubt that they are now on the agenda of both psychology and pedagogy.

Fourth, it would be easy to develop an analytical grid and set of instruments for research and diagnosis on the basis of Vygotsky's concept of 'artificial development', namely, the socio-cultural development of cognitive functions. To start with, it would be enough simply to build up a list of the external aids, the tools and the 'internal techniques' at the disposal of individuals and social and cultural groups in order to determine parameters in the light of which comparisons could be made. It is obvious that such instruments, developed within a theoretical framework of this nature, would eliminate the dangers of racist and chauvinistic interpretations.

Fifth, besides the two models already mentioned in this article, a whole series of learning patterns have been conceptualized on the basis of Vygotsky's or similar ideas. These include co-operative learning, guided learning, learning based on the socio-cognitive conflict, knowledge construction in common, etc. (Doise and Mugny, 1981; Perret-Clermont, 1979; Stambak et al., 1983; CRESAS, 1987; Rubčov, 1987; Brown and Palincsar, 1986).

Finally, the recent emergence of modern audio-visual media and information technologies, their applications in teaching and their short- and long-term place in the lives of children, raise new and serious problems. What instrument could be more relevant and more useful for research into the impact of these new cultural tools than a theory like Vygotsky's, which sets their role in psychological, historical and ontogenetic development precisely at the centre of its concerns? This theory offers an ideal conceptual framework for such research, but there remains the hard task of putting it on an operational footing and conducting empirical research.[5]

When we attempt a critical appraisal of Vygotsky's ideas, the first observation that springs to mind is that his theory has remained in many respects a mere sketch, insufficiently developed and operational. In many cases, for instance, his theoretical arguments are not illustrated or supplemented by appropriate methodology. These omissions cannot be blamed on Vygotsky, whose ideas were often simply restated rather than built upon by his disciples. Nor can Vygotsky be blamed for the fact that present-day psychology has wasted effort and resources in conducting research based on much less fruitful paradigms than his.

There has been frequent criticism of the distinction drawn by Vygotsky between two channels of mental development (which he actually regards as intertwined), that is to say, natural (spontaneous and biological) development and artificial (social and cultural) development. We are in agreement with Liders[6] on

the necessity of retaining this scientifically productive contrast in preference to the facile claim that all human development is cultural.

In our opinion the true starting-point for any critical appraisal of Vygotsky's theory should be the absence of criticism of social and cultural institutions (and 'tools'). Vygotsky, fascinated by the constructive contributions made by society and culture, never really managed to work out a critical analysis, in the modern sense, of those institutions.

The fact is that the perturbation of social relations (in the social group, the immediate environment or the family) may be capable of proving seriously pathogenetic, precisely through the action of the mechanisms discovered by Vygotsky. Similarly, the cultural 'tools', again through the action of Vygotskian mechanisms, cannot be agents solely of mind formation; they also contribute to general development – for example, the formation of narrow-minded, dogmatic or sterile attitudes – precisely because the individuals concerned have experienced interactions with the cultural carriers of such profound tools and messages.

The critical analysis of institutions, including schools, and of social and cultural agents could clarify the conditions in which socio-cultural 'tools and instruments' become the formative factors of development.

Vygotsky's ideas on teaching

In the first part of this profile we looked into the consequences for education of Vygotsky's theory of development. We shall now briefly review his more explicit ideas on education. It must be said, however, that we regard the analysis conducted in the previous section to be of greater importance for this subject.

Vygotsky was himself a very active and, it is said, very gifted teacher. As a member of various bodies in charge of national education, he had a hand in dealing with the practical problems facing the Soviet education system at the time, including the transition from a holistic to a discipline-centred approach in primary schools, and throughout his life he was interested in the education of handicapped children.

We shall make a few comments here on the educational problems raised by the relationship between development and the learning process, on the 'proximal zone of development' concept and on specific aspects of formal education.

Vygotsky regarded the question of the relationship between development and the learning process as primarily a theoretical one. Since his theory regards education as being closely connected with development, however, and development as taking place in the actual socio-cultural environment, his analyses are focused directly on education of the type provided in schools.

We have already seen that one of his models of development (Model II – artificial development) depends, in fact, upon formal education, the core of which is the acquisition of systems of scientific concepts.

For Vygotsky, therefore, education cannot be reduced to the acquisition of a body of information; it is one of the sources of development and is even

defined as the artificial development of the child. Hence, the essence of education is to ensure the child's development by the provision of tools, internal techniques and intellectual operations. On many occasions Vygotsky even speaks of the acquisition (learning) of different types of activity. If we applied his approach to botanical classification, for example, we could say that for Vygotsky the essential thing is not a knowledge of taxonomic categories but a mastery of the classification procedure (definition and application of taxonomic criteria, the classification of ambiguous or borderline cases, determination of new members of a class and, most important of all, learning to execute the logical operations that interlink various classes, etc.).

All this goes to show that Vygotsky attached the greatest importance to the content of educational curricula but placed the emphasis on the structural and instrumental aspects of that content, the significance of which was mentioned in our analysis of the implications of McLuhan's phrase 'the medium is the message'. In this connection, it must be said that Vygotsky did not take these fruitful ideas far enough. In this approach it is quite possible to regard the school itself as a 'message', that is, a fundamental factor of education because, as an institution and quite apart from the content of its teaching, it implies a certain structuring of time and space and is based on a system of social relations (between pupils and teachers, between the pupils themselves, between the school and its surroundings, and so on). Indeed, the impact of formal education depends to a considerable extent on these aspects of the 'educational medium'.

Secondly, we have already seen that Vygotsky did not take his criticism of formal education very far, despite its pertinence to his system of thought: the school does not always teach systems of knowledge but in many cases overburdens its pupils with isolated and meaningless facts; school curricula do not incorporate tools and intellectual techniques; all too often, schools do not provide a setting for social interactions conducive to knowledge construction, etc. Lastly, El'konin (El'konin and Davidov, 1966) rightly reproaches Vygotsky for not paying enough attention to teaching methods.

Vygotsky's concept of 'the proximal zone of development' has first of all theoretical implications. In the socio-cultural conception of development children cannot be regarded as cut off from their social and cultural environment like young Robinson Crusoes. Their ties with other people form part of their very nature. It is thus impossible to analyse their development, aptitudes or education without taking social ties into consideration. The concept of the proximal zone of development illustrates this view precisely. This zone is defined as the difference (expressed in units of time) between the performance of the same child working with and assisted by an adult. For example, two children pass tests for 8-year-olds on a psychometric scale; with standardized assistance, the first attains the 9-year level and second the 12-year level; in this case the proximal zone is one year for the first child and four years for the second.

In this concept of the proximal zone, the view of the child as a social being engenders a methodological approach with far-reaching implications, since the

child's development is regarded as a dynamic and dialectical process. Applied to pedagogy, the concept of the proximal zone offers a way out of the eternal dilemma of education: should we wait until children have attained a particular level of development before beginning formal education or should we expose them to a certain education so that they may attain a particular level of development? Following the dialectic of the relationship between the learning and development processes examined earlier, Vygotsky adds that development is more productive if children are exposed to new learning precisely in their proximal zone of development. In this zone and with adult assistance children would be able to assimilate more easily what they would be incapable of assimilating if left to themselves.

The actual forms taken by adult assistance in the proximal zone vary enormously: the demonstration of methods to be imitated, examples, maieutic questions, monitoring by the adult and, most important of all, shared activities (*sovmestnaja deatel'nost*) as a constructive factor of development.

The heuristic value of the proximal zone concept has not been sufficiently exploited.[7] The nature of the concept translates into operational terms the theoretical conception of the child as a social being. But its applications need to be taken further and, in fact, a new approach to the theoretical and practical construction of diagnostic tools based on that concept is currently being developed. It involves studying the dynamics of the development process (rather than present performance) and the capacities of normal or handicapped children, in order to draw maximum benefit from the assistance and learning opportunities offered.

A second direction that could be explored in the application of this concept is education in the family and at school. There is evidence that many parents spontaneously direct their teaching efforts precisely towards the proximal zone (Ignjatovic-Savic et al., 1989). Bearing in mind Vygotsky's oft-repeated view that the education of a child should ideally be aimed at the proximal zone in which that child experiences his/her encounters with the culture, assisted by an adult acting initially as a partner in shared constructions and later as the organizer of the learning process, formal education could be regarded as a powerful support for natural development (Model I) or as a relatively independent source (Model II). The references to formal education that we find in Vygotsky should be taken not as descriptions of actual educational situations, however, but rather as an outline for the renewal of education. Vygotsky's theory, formulated over sixty years ago, has such heuristic potential that it could very well become one of the instruments for this renewal of present-day formal education.

Notes

1. This profile was first published in *Prospects*, Vol. 19, No. 3, 1989.
2. I have developed these ideas in a monograph dealing with the origin and development of the semiotic function in the child (Ivić, 1978).

3. I have analysed in a recent article one of the possible interpretations of this constructive role of social interactions (CRESAS, 1987).
4. I have attempted to integrate these ideas about early sociability into an educational programme designed for nursery-school children, a programme that is now being employed in the Republic of Serbia (Ivić et al., 1984). In a piece of empirical research (Ignjatovic et al., 1989) my colleagues have brilliantly succeeded in putting this general idea of Vygotsky's into practice.
5. In a thesis defended at the University of Belgrade, M. Kovac ('The Visual Media and Cognitive Development') has shown empirically how the specific features of video may be employed to influence the cognitive development of children.
6. Liders, in a thesis, has powerfully restated Vygotsky's fundamental idea of the two channels of development (natural and artificial); this text is published in a volume containing the proceedings of a conference devoted to Vygotsky. See *Naučnoe tvorčestvo Vygotskogo i sovremennaja psihologia* [The Scientific Achievement of Vygotsky and Contemporary Psychology], Moscow, APN SSSR.
7. I was unfortunately unable to consult for this article the study by Rogoff and Wertsch (1984) on the proximal zone of development.

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Prepared by Dijana Plut

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HENRI WALLON

(1879–1962)

Hélène Gratiot-Alphandéry

In the history of ideas in this century, Henri Wallon is remembered much more as a psychologist than as an educator. And yet his name, in association with that of the illustrious physicist Paul Langevin, is today to be found inscribed on the façade of numerous schools in France. Together with Langevin, he was the originator of a project to reform French education which, though never put into practice, remains the most comprehensive and original scheme of the century. Widely known in France and in some other countries, this project had a direct or indirect influence on a good many others and inspired a number of partial reforms.

In this study we shall try to follow the intellectual journey of a scholar whose life's work was devoted to the study of children, the conditions in which they develop, the way they behave and their evolution.

Landmarks of a career

Born in Paris in 1879 into an upper middle-class family from the north of France, Henri Wallon was brought up with his six brothers and sisters 'in a republican and democratic atmosphere'. Admitted to the Ecole normale supérieure in 1899, he obtained his *agrégation* in philosophy in 1902: his future seemed to lie in teaching. After a year teaching at the *lycée* of Bar-le-Duc, however, he decided to embark on the study of medicine before eventually turning, like his older contemporary, Georges Dumas, to psychology. But it was psychiatry, more particularly child psychiatry, that absorbed him for many years in various hospitals where he showed particular interest in the motor and mental anomalies of children, concerning which he recorded numerous observations between 1908 and 1914.

After mobilization as a doctor during the First World War, he returned to civilian life to find that his observations now seemed completely out of date to him. He therefore rewrote his doctoral thesis on 'stages and disturbances in the motor and mental development of the child', which he upheld in 1925 and subse-

quently published under the title *L'enfant turbulent* [The Troublesome Child]. As early as 1919, his strong interest – rather exceptional for the time – in child psychology led to him being asked to give a series of lectures at the Sorbonne on the subject. Despite the prestige attached to these teaching duties, they did not entirely satisfy him; he therefore gave medical and psychological consultations in a dispensary in a working-class district of Paris and, in 1922, in a school at Boulogne-Billancourt in the Paris suburbs, set up a small laboratory for the purposes of both teaching and research with the assistance of a few primary teachers. There he took in degree students and future inspectors of education and embarked on research into the psychological development of children by means of interviews and surveys on their adaptation to school and social life, using some of the first tests known. At the same time, he collaborated closely with the Deaf and Dumb Institute, then located at Asnières, not far from Paris.

From 1925, when he was appointed Director of the first Child Psychobiology Laboratory at the Ecole pratique des hautes études in Paris, Wallon continued his twin activities of research and teaching. But in his research, he was always mindful of its practical and sometimes immediate applications in the education of children. This was so in particular for his studies in psychomotricity, the mechanisms of memory or moral judgement. In addition to his laboratory work, he soon started giving consultations for 'pupils subject to intellectual or behaviourial disorders' and founded a Vocational Guidance Centre (one of the earliest known) for schoolchildren in the working-class suburb of Boulogne-Billancourt. This vocational guidance service marked a new concern on the part of Wallon just after the creation, on the initiative of his friends Henri Piéron, Professor at the Collège de France, Julien Fontegne and Henri Laugier, employment specialists, of an Institute national d'orientation professionnelle (National Institute of Vocational Guidance) for the training of guidance counsellors.

From that time onwards, Henri Wallon's work was constantly to reflect, in many different forms, both his sustained interest in the psycho-biological development of children and his concern that his research should be of practical use for their education. He established contacts with the various New Education movements that were developing in France on the models of those spearheaded by Maria Montessori in Italy, Ovid Decroly and his Ecole de l'Ermitage in Belgium and Edouard Claparède and Pierre Bovet in Switzerland. He also maintained relations outside France with other persons who were, like himself, responsible for medical training, but this did not stop him from being firmly entrenched in the educational environment of his country and, for example, giving strong support to Célestin Freinet and his school printing schemes.

Once again attracted by anything that he thought might broaden the field of psychology and its applications, he played an active part in working out the skills and interests to which such guidance should actually be keyed. While continuing with his teaching in this new institute, he decided to test the child observation and examination methods in his own laboratory. But this activity,

which brought him into daily contact with schoolchildren, was not enough to satisfy him: he wanted to broaden the scope of the teaching programme organized for his students and requested that a chair be established at the Collège de France devoted – rather surprisingly for an institution in which Ribot and later Janet had taught scientific psychology – to 'the psychology and education of children'. Thanks to the particularly keen support of Henri Piéron, the highly reputed Professor of the Physiology of Sensations, the proposed theme was accepted and, apart from a four-year interruption when the course was suspended by the Vichy Government during the Occupation (1941-44), was studied at the Collège de France from 1937 to 1949.

In his inaugural lecture Wallon showed that 'the relations between psychology and education are not the relations between a normative science and an applied science or art. Psychology is still sufficiently close to its roots for us to be able to see how much in its beginnings a science is bound up with practical problems.'[1] All the stages and all the forms of a child's development must be studied since an understanding of children 'requires the collaboration of all those who in one way or another are in contact with them'.[2] Hence the need to define the conditions and rules of observation: 'Observation enables us to formulate the problems, but it is the problems as formulated that make observation possible.'[3] In this lecture, Wallon went on to analyse in meticulous detail the method of tests and its limitations, the pros and cons of isolated laboratory work and above all, once again, the need to take account of all the reactions of children to their environment.

The text of this inaugural lecture laid down the broad lines of an approach to teaching that would find expression a few years later in three major works: *L'évolution psychologique de l'enfant* [The Psychological Evolution of the Child] (1941), *De l'acte à la pensée* [From Action to Thought] (1942) and *Les origines de la pensée chez l'enfant* [The Origin of Thought among Children] (1945).

The Langevin-Wallon project for educational reform

In 1936, just when the Popular Front came to power, Wallon agreed to cooperate with the Minister Jean Zay, the Inspector Gustave Monod and Professors Roger Gall and Alfred Weiler in setting up 'new classes' for the first year of secondary education in which, for the first time, activity methods and continuous observation of pupils would be practised. These classes were largely inspired by the work of Decroly and others. The Second World War put a stop to these initiatives and to the development of a number of experimental secondary schools; it was not until 1945 that some of these experiments were resumed, on a smaller scale and with limited resources.

In 1946, the 'Project for Educational Reform' drafted by Paul Langevin and Henri Wallon in the name of a 'Ministerial Committee', whose twenty-three members were drawn from the different levels of French education and whose vice-chairman was Henri Piéron, was tabled at the National Assembly.

This bill was never discussed by the parliamentarians to whom it was addressed. Over a period of nearly fifty years, however, a great many of the proposals it contains and the improvements it suggests have been adopted in France and sometimes even in other countries, without explicit reference being made to the project itself. It should also be borne in mind that most of the members of this committee had began their work in 1942, during the Occupation, as members of the Resistance. The 1946 'project' therefore represented the culmination of a long process of consultation and reflection on the shape to be taken by the reform of French education.

In the introduction, the authors state that 'the complete rebuilding of our education system is founded on a small number of principles that will be given practical expression in all the measures envisaged for both the immediate and more distant future'.[4] Further on, they specify that

> the reform of our education must be the embodiment in our institutions of the right of young people to full personal development. . . . It must serve to proclaim and protect the right of all children and all adolescents to education. This education will be based on knowledge of the psychology of young people and on the objective study of each individual.[5]

To enable young people to enjoy this right to education, a limit needs to be placed on the size of classes, which must in no circumstances exceed twenty-five students. Even more important, 'educational guidance, followed later by vocational guidance, should result in each worker, each citizen, being put in the job most fitted to his capabilities and productive potential'.[6] For this purpose it is essential that general education and specialization be linked together throughout an individual's school career. For 'general culture represents what brings together and unites people, while occupations all too often represent what separates them'.[7] Thus 'the school, whether located in a huge conurbation or the tiniest of hamlets, must always be a centre for the dissemination of culture'.[8]

These principles having been laid down, it remains necessary to determine the structure and organization of education at its various levels, according to the various stages to which children should be assigned by age.

The nursery school would be designed for children aged between 3 and 7. And if the age of admission to nursery school were raised, in line with the committee's wishes, from 2 to 3 years 'it would be essential for the proper intellectual development of children that the day-care centres in which many of them spend their days be provided with kindergarten teachers'.[9]

Nursery school would be followed by the first level of education, compulsory from the age of 7 to 18 years and divided into three stages. In the first stage, from 7 to 11 years, 'all children receive the same education (for both psychological and educational reasons) but the teaching methods will be geared to the varying abilities of the children'.[10] Hence the urgent need to establish classes for children with mental, moral or physical handicaps. The second stage, from 11 to 15 years of age, is seen as a period of first options, with a core curriculum 'for all

children whatever their specialization'[11] and special courses including 'a choice of activities to test the children's aptitudes and abilities'.[12] Since some abilities do not become apparent until the age of about 13 or 14, the basic options for this age group would be taught by specialist teachers using activity methods; it should always be possible to switch from one option to another, with extra tutoring being provided to ease the transition. Lastly, 'as rural children should be able to benefit from the Reform in the same way as all other children', it would be necessary to increase the number of secondary schools provided for them.[13]

A third and final stage for students aged 15 to 18 years was to be called the 'determining stage'. After a selection test, these adolescents would be steered towards 'practical courses' for those who 'display more manual than intellectual skills',[14] to occupational courses for 'children likely to fill middle-level production posts and who appear better fitted for practical action than for theoretical studies'[15] or to theoretical courses for those with recognized theoretical skills, who would be channelled towards the baccalaureate.

Higher education would include a first level of 'pre-university instruction' aimed at 'providing students with the general and technical preparation they need in order to study profitably the problems that arise in the sciences or arts'.[16] In higher education itself 'theoretical and technical courses would be grouped together in the universities' and 'universities grouped together on a regional basis'. Lastly, care would be taken to preserve 'the three functions of higher education', which were defined as 'career-oriented education, given in the universities and then supplemented in technical institutes',[17] 'research work in which future researchers could pursue their training in special centres and university institutes providing the necessary environment for their scientific education, thanks to collaboration between teachers and researchers'[18] and 'cultural education', which would not consist in 'popularization' and would not 'address the occupational concerns of universities'.[19]

Such a diversity of courses and such scope for different ways of acceding to culture require that special importance be attached to 'teacher training', which constituted the third facet of this project. Teacher training was considered to include compulsory education up to the age of 18, thus implying a distinction between core subject teachers and special subject teachers. The two pre-university years would take place in teacher-training colleges in which a distinction should be made between 'future primary teachers interested mainly in the children themselves and their psychology and in pedagogical problems and those whose aptitudes mark them out more for literary and scientific studies'.[20]

The *écoles normales supérieures* (ENS) were 'institutions of high culture' for graduate students wishing to prepare the *agrégation*. They would differ from one another, according to their objectives and mode of recruitment, as being for advanced literary or scientific studies, teacher training, technical education and physical education. In each case, the duration of studies would depend on the special field. Lastly, at the level of higher education, the recruitment of teachers for the humanities, science, medicine and law would be organized in very

different ways depending on the discipline. Special programmes would be provided for the training of schoolteachers in order to give them 'experience of industry, agriculture, business and administration, that is, experience of professional life in all its forms and at all levels'.[21]

Educational psychology

Part IV of the project deals with 'supervision and in-service training'. This supervision should be 'pedagogical in regard to teachers and psychological in regard to students'. Despite its brevity – it occupies only two pages – this section probably contains the most innovative features of the project.

Far from being confined to the function of judging teachers, inspectors are expected to become 'the regular advisers of their charges; they must be able to pass on to them an awareness of the progress that can be achieved through teaching and they must be capable of showing them how to put it into practice'.[22] In certain cases specialized inspectors would be needed to avoid, for example, 'the heresy of treating the education of sub-normal children and the education given in nursery schools alike by giving them the same inspectors'.[23]

In these pages the tone becomes more vehement as we touch upon what, in the eyes of its authors, constitutes the very core, the real boldness, of this reform. They argue that educational supervision must go hand in hand with the 'psychological supervision' of pupils. This supervision, entrusted to a specialist in psychological methods, would help to determine the future course to be followed by learners. This was a 'major innovation': it would be essential to provide, as had been done by education reformers in some other countries, for the establishment of a body of educational psychologists with adequate educational qualifications, such as a university degree and, if possible, a certain amount of teaching experience. In addition they should have followed theoretical and practical courses in psychology leading to a diploma awarded by a university and recognized by the State. 'Their status and the rules governing their promotion should take account of their qualifications in both psychology and pedagogy'.[24]

If educational psychology, introduced into several schools in 1946 and even also into a small number of *lycées* for a short period, is still contested today despite the efforts of its originators and of those who practise it, this is because considerable ambiguity is still associated with the very function of school psychologist. As we have seen, Wallon had from the beginning wanted them to be teachers trained in pedagogical skills and to have undertaken specialized studies in child psychology. School psychologists were not to be confused with educational counsellors, to whom they might be of assistance but did not replace; nor were they to be confused with remedial language or psychomotor instructors or with psychotherapists.

On all these points and to guard against any ambiguity, Wallon and those in charge of the training of school psychologists in university institutes at Paris, Grenoble, Caen and Aix were always very firm.

On several occasions Wallon again turned his thoughts to the role and functions of school psychologists at a time when a number of them had already taken up their duties. In an issue of the journal *Enfance*, he wrote that 'the school psychologist must come to the rescue of the child' and that 'the school psychologists must help children to discover themselves'.[25] And 'instead of being concerned with selection, the school psychologist should aim at the fullest possible development of each individual's educational and cultural potential'.[26]

More than thirty years after Wallon's death, French school psychologists are still uneasy about the working conditions and future of their profession. Perhaps their work does not always match its beginnings, but it is now much better understood thanks to research and theses of a high calibre. A good many of the studies carried out on the children of migrant workers since 1966, for example, originated in the problems faced by school psychologists.

The final chapters of the draft reform are devoted to 'curricula, timetables, methods and the measurement of success' (Chapter V), including in particular the organization of remedial, further training and readaptation classes. It is worth noting the emphasis laid on moral and civic education (Chapter VI), and on training for citizenship and on social education (Chapter VII). Social education was a new and original topic that deserves to be looked at, for it denotes 'not only education for all, but the possibility for all, after the end of their schooling and throughout their lives, to continue developing their intellectual, aesthetic, professional, civic and moral culture'.[27]

It should be stressed that this broad and generous design for a truly democratic school was never carried into effect, but it has been the implicit or explicit source of many innovations in French education since 1946. Even today, the new perspective it offers on educational and cultural opportunity is, whether recognized or not, the starting-point for any attempt to revitalize education.

Henri Wallon and psychoanalysis

At the present time, when many school psychologists recommend psychotherapy for children who worry parents or teachers, Wallon's view of psychoanalysis and, in particular, of Freud's explanation of the psychic development of children may well give us food for thought.

Wallon has often been regarded as a dogged opponent of psychoanalysis and yet attentive readers of his work have shown that this was not the case and have identified far more points of agreement than of disagreement between Wallon and Freud. As early as 1920, Wallon was carefully reading Freud, who at the time was practically unknown in France and not yet translated. Wallon referred to the founder of psychoanalysis at length in an article that was subsequently incorporated in a treatise on psychology.[28] In this article he presents and analyses the Freudian conception of hysteria, but at the same time expresses his reservations: 'In psychology, the account given by the subject is often the sole means of information. All the more reason then to question its reliability'.[29]

Some fifteen years later he asked two young psychoanalysts to draft two chapters of Volume 8 of the *Encyclopédie française* devoted to 'Mental life'.[30] He asked Daniel Lagache, then a senior lecturer at the University of Strasbourg, to write articles on 'the pathological method', 'cortical deficiencies', 'male sexuality' and 'sexuality and psychopathy'; and he asked Jacques Lacan, former senior registrar at the Faculty of Medicine of Paris, to write on 'concrete complex factors of family psychology' and 'family complexes in pathology'.

He justified these choices – surprising for the time – during a radio interview:

> In entrusting certain chapters to authors whom I knew to have Freudian leanings, I was only recognizing the importance of the Freudian movement in psychology. It gave fresh momentum to whole areas of research, in particular those relating to the life of the emotions. I don't think there are any psychologists nowadays who can avoid using concepts created by Freud. No doubt the significance of a number of these concepts has changed somewhat, even among staunch Freudians. But it is not by digging in one's heels that one arrives at the truth.[31]

Wallon had some harsher things to say about the thinking of Freud in the important preface he wrote for Hesnard's book on *L'Univers morbide de la faute* [The Unhealthy World of Error]. He welcomed the author's transcription 'of Freudian entities and myths' in practical, objective and rational terms, but immediately added that 'the great danger of psychoanalytical ideas . . . lies in the fact that they merge the individual and society together instead of linking them to each other, that they seek in the individual a root-and-branch explanation of society'.[32]

The journal 'Enfance'

In late 1947 when Wallon, approaching the age of retirement, was going to have to give up his teaching post at the Collège de France, he agreed to found a French journal devoted to child psychology. The first issue of *Enfance* was published in January 1948. Up to the time of his death, he contributed eleven articles and ten prefaces to this fortnightly journal, widely distributed in more than sixty countries.

In the very first issue, Wallon set out the goals of the journal. 'To our way of thinking, psychology, pedagogy, neuropsychiatry and sociology together form a whole in which each part is essential to the others'.[33] The journal would therefore address these different subjects 'with constant reference to education'.[34] With an almost premonitory sense, he wrote:

> In many countries, events in recent years have sapped the organic and moral foundations of young people's lives, through malnutrition, the break-up of the family, insecurity and a wide array of temptations. The damage is largely to the psyche and may suitably be dealt with in our journal.[35]

For almost fifteen years, *Enfance* was the first to publish the work produced by Wallon's team. We find him here on familiar ground: 'Object Classification in Children';[36] 'Children's Reproduction of Short-time Spans'[37] and 'The Representation of Weight in the Child's Mind'.[38] We also find the same strict standards with regard to experimentation, the same precise approach to data analysis and the same concern to set out findings faithfully and clearly. He also wrote in a more personal capacity on 'psychological tests and mental clinics'[39] and on 'pre-categorial thinking in children',[40] thereby pursuing in his journal a good number of the concerns that he had addressed in his teaching.

But it is perhaps his 'prefaces', 'preambles' or 'forewords' in 'special issues' of the journal that most accurately reflect the broad range of his concerns and his unflagging interest in all areas of children's activity. The variety of the themes covered in these issues is particularly revealing. Some relate to the school environment with, for example, issues devoted to 'educational psychology', others to 'learning to read', and others to 'the first year of secondary education'. On each theme, first-hand knowledge was gathered and practices were compared, enabling Wallon in each case to reach the conclusion that pedagogy and child psychology were indissociable.

The journal devoted a good deal of space to describing and analysing what we now call children's leisure-time cultural activities. For example, 'Children's Drawings' (1950), 'Children's Newspapers' (1953), 'Children's Books' (1956) and 'Film Clubs for the Young' (1957) had issues devoted to them which are still sought after today because of their originality of approach and the wide variety of their contributors. Wallon was closely involved in the preparation of these issues as he considered that leisure-time management was of great importance for the socialization of children and for the full development of their personalities. He likewise had a direct hand in the founding and development of children's centres, such as the 'Renouveau', the centres for activity methods in education called the 'Grande Cordée', and he also presided over a 'Young People's Cinema Association' and a programme of low-cost holidays for children.

During his fourteen years at the helm of *Enfance*, Wallon was always anxious to increase its readership and to find both national and foreign contributors. The journal accordingly featured, alongside articles by renowned psychologists, contributions by neurophysiologists, sociologists, psychiatrists and psychoanalysts, many of whom were appearing in print for the first time.

Wallon on Rousseau

Wallon's last piece of writing was an 'Introduction to *Emile*' by Jean-Jacques Rousseau. As he himself acknowledged, there was nothing surprising about the choice, since of all Rousseau's writings it was 'still of topical interest to educators, for whom it was intended'.[41]

We still have to understand and explain why it enjoyed such a reputation. Wallon takes up the challenge, seeking to track down and analyse in Rousseau's

work the 'bewildering ambiguities alongside the profound observations and cogent truths',[42] and not failing to note that 'here teacher and pupil are purely imaginary beings created by the author for the purposes of demonstration. However shocking certain ways of proceeding may seem in themselves, there is no reason to dwell unduly on these practices as they all belong to the realm of fiction'.[43]

Having expressed these reservations, he analyses Rousseau's educational theory in detail, highlighting several of its 'constant principles' and, primarily, 'the child's imprescriptible right that the present should not be sacrificed to the future'.[44] He then quotes from the closing pages of *Emile* in which Rousseau, 'in a moving appeal', writes: 'Let us make people happy at all ages lest after much care they should die without having known happiness'. A second principle follows from this, according to which 'all teaching should be accepted pleasure, should be wanted and desired, should cater to a need or interest and should help to solve a difficulty encountered by the child'.[45] A third principle ensues to the effect that 'all teaching must be predicated on practical observation and experimentation'.[46] Wallon then goes on to make a comparison between Rousseau's pedagogical thinking and that of Decroly and, more generally, of the proponents of 'activity methods' in the twentieth century.

But more than anything else, the constant opposition established by Rousseau between nature and society arouses a response in Wallon who returns to it repeatedly to show that the very concept of 'nature' in Rousseau is tainted with ambiguity. 'Where does nature lie – in things or in people's minds?'[47] It was, of course, from Condillac's theory of sensationalism, very fashionable during his time, that Rousseau drew the principles of a teaching method of which traces would be found a century and a half later in the ideas of Maria Montessori. But Wallon dwells particularly on Rousseau's analysis of 'a stage that present-day psychologists have described as the child's "categorial activity".' Practical intelligence was therefore the 'raw material of theoretical intelligence' and 'intellectual life is rooted in the senses'.[48]

It is obvious to Wallon that when Rousseau asserts that 'freedom consists in not depending on others', whereas 'society reduces human beings to the natural state of childhood', he again expresses 'the two terms of the contradiction without trying to resolve it, or he simply notes the existence of a paradox'.[49]

Wallon gives full vent to his irritation when, at the conclusion of this introduction, he analyses the picture painted by Rousseau of the relations between the sexes and shows that 'where the issue of women is concerned, our contemporary civilization has turned away from Rousseau's ideas'.[50]

Should Rousseau's principles be regarded as generally progressive, if not revolutionary? From this close reading of a work written in the period between *La Nouvelle Héloïse* and *Du Contrat Social*, Wallon draws the conclusion that

> what was most authentically revolutionary in Rousseau was his cast of mind, his love of controversy. He found pleasure in paradoxes that ran counter to commonly held views, he was attentive to contrasts that brought out diversity and change, he was fond of contra-

dictions that gave food for thought and of antagonisms that triggered action. He had a dialectical mind although he was not yet using dialectics as a method of investigation and explanation.[51]

Wallon today: little more than a name

It may be wondered why Wallon is still little more than a name, if indeed that, to many present-day authors and why he is seldom listed in scientific bibliographies.

He produced some ten books which have been re-issued many times. He wrote several hundred articles, and translations of his works exist in Arabic, English, German, Greek, Italian, Japanese, Polish, Portuguese, Russian and Spanish, to mention only those languages.

He wrote for various kinds of reader and the least significant of his writings bears witness to an exceptionally broad culture and an unflagging curiosity about contemporary scientific developments. Tributes were paid to him during his lifetime and after his death by the greatest specialists in the fields with which he had been concerned. These included not only psychiatrists, psychologists and educationists, but also sociologists and linguists. They all highlighted his main concern, which was to achieve a better understanding of children and of their physical and psychological development and educational needs. It was perhaps the indissoluble link that he established between these two approaches that gave rise to a good deal of incomprehension and misunderstanding. To some, he seemed a difficult author, bent on finding the right word, the exact term, ever mindful of empirical verification; to others he seemed mainly concerned about the translation of his observations into educational praxis and, more than anything else, preoccupied by the activity of teaching.

Throughout his life Wallon was a politically committed person and this political commitment, of which from the time he was a student he made no secret, was responsible for a certain coolness on the part of the scientific community and cost him a number of friendships. But he was not a person to go back on his choices, even if at times they seemed to him difficult to assume. This readiness to defend causes that he considered just was apparent all his life. From the early days of socialism with Jaurès and at the Vallée Foundation in Bicêtre, where he worked to improve the status of disabled children; during and after the 1914-18 war alongside seriously wounded soldiers and with young maladjusted people or delinquents locked up in children's prisons; during the Spanish War and later in the Resistance, he was unstinting in his involvement.

With the return of peace, he was briefly Minister of Education and then for a while member of parliament. Finally, in the last fifteen years of his life, he lent his name and prestige to all the national independence struggles and, on the very eve of his death (in December 1962), signed a manifesto for peace in Algeria.

He continued untiringly to demonstrate the same energy and determination when speaking of the duties and responsibilities of the educator as he had in his

earliest public statement, addressed to his pupils at a prize-giving ceremony at the secondary school in Bar-le-Duc (1903): 'Does not living for others mean living intensely, braving the death that lies hidden in the recesses of egotism, condensing every instant of our existence into a noble endeavour? Does it not represent our independence?'[52]

More than fifty years later, the message he addressed to primary school-teachers was the same, marked more strongly by experience and the problems of the times:

> Teachers who are truly aware of the responsibilities entrusted to them must take a stand on the issues of the day. They must take a stand, not blindly but in the light of what they can find out by virtue of their education. They must take a stand so that they can truly discover the social relations and moral values of the age. They must take a stand not only in their studies and not only through analysis of the economic and social conditions of their time and country. They must take a stand side by side with their pupils, learning from them about their living conditions, for instance. In this way teachers must be constantly trying out ideas and must modify their own through permanent contact with a shifting reality of which each life forms a part and which must be harnessed to the common ideal.[53]

Notes

1. Henri Wallon, 'Inaugural Lecture at the Collège de France,' *Enfance* (Evry, France), Nos. 3-4, May-October 1959, p. 195.
2. Ibid., p. 198.
3. Ibid., p. 199.
4. Commission ministérielle d'étude, *Projet de réforme de l'enseignement* (Projet Paul Langevin-Henri Wallon) [Draft Educational Reform (Project by Paul Langevin and Henri Wallon)], Paris, Ministère de l'éducation nationale, 1946, p. 8.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., p. 9.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid., p. 13.
10. Ibid., p. 14.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid., p. 15.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid., p. 16.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid., p. 19.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid., p. 21.
21. Ibid., p. 23.
22. Ibid., p. 25.

23. Ibid.
24. Ibid., p. 26.
25. Henri Wallon, 'Pourquoi des psychologues scolaires?' [Why Do We Need School Psychologists?], *Enfance* (Evry, France), Vol. 5, 1952, p. 374.
26. Ibid.
27. Commission ministérielle d'étude, op. cit., p. 36.
28. Henri Wallon, in G. Dumas (ed.), *Traité de psychologie* [Treatise on Psychology], vol. 7, p. 429, Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1942.
29. Ibid., p. 506.
30. *Encyclopédie française*, Volume 8, Paris, Larousse, 1938.
31. Recording of a radio interview with Henri Wallon, n.d.
32. A. Hesnard, *L'Univers morbide de la faute* [The Unhealthy World of Error], p. xii (Preface by H. Wallon), Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1949.
33. *Enfance*, No. 1, January 1948, p. 5.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid., p. 7.
36. *Enfance*, No. 5, 1950.
37. *Enfance*, No. 2, 1957.
38. *Enfance*, No. 1, 1958, p. 1.
39. *Enfance*, No. 3, 1950.
40. *Enfance*, No. 1, 1951.
41. J-.J. Rousseau, *Emile, ou l'éducation*, p. 7 (Preface by Henri Wallon), Paris, Editions Sociales, 1958.
42. Ibid., p. 10.
43. Ibid., p. 13.
44. Ibid., p. 21.
45. Ibid., p. 23.
46. Ibid., p. 24.
47. Ibid., p. 35.
48. Ibid., p. 44.
49. Ibid., p. 51.
50. Ibid., p. 57.
51. Ibid., p. 60.
52. *Enfance*, Nos. 1-2, 1968, p. 15.
53. *Enfance*, No. 7, 1985, p. 130 (Special Edition).

Henri Wallon's principal works

In chronological order

1925. *L'enfant turbulent* [The Troublesome Child]. Paris, Alcan, Presses Universitaires de France.
1926. *Psychologie pathologique* [Pathological Psychology]. Paris, Alcan.
1930. *Principes de psychologie appliquée* [The Principles of Applied Psychology]. Paris, Armand Colin.
1934. *Les origines du caractère chez l'enfant* [The Origins of Character among Children]. Paris, Boivin–Presses Universitaires de France.
1938. La vie mentale [Mental Life]. In: *Encyclopedie française*, Vol. 8. Paris, Larousse.

1941. *L'évolution psychologique de l'enfant* [The Psychological Evolution of the Child]. Paris, Armand Colin.
1942. *De l'acte à la pensée* [From Action to Thought]. Paris, Flammarion.
1945. *Les origines de la pensée chez l'enfant* [The Origins of Thought among Children]. 2 vols. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France.

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Jalley, E. *Wallon, lecteur de Freud et de Piaget* [Wallon: The Reader of Freud and Piaget]. Paris, Editions Sociales, 1981.
Martinet, M. *Théorie des émotions: Introduction à l'œuvre d'Henri Wallon* [The Theory of Emotions: An Introduction to the Work of Henri Wallon]. Paris, Aubier–Montaigne, 1972.
Nadel, J.; Best, F. *Wallon aujourd'hui* [Wallon Today]. Paris, Scarabée CEMEA, 1980.
Tran Thonq. *La pensée pédagogique d'Henri Wallon* [The Educational Thought of Henri Wallon]. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1969.
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In chronological order

1959. 'Psychologie et éducation de l'enfant' [Psychology and Education of the Child]. (A Collection of articles by Henri Wallon published from 1928 to 1958.)
1963. 'Buts et méthodes de la psychologie' [Objectives and Methods of Psychology]. (A new collection of articles.)
1968. 'Ecrits et souvenirs' [Writings and Memories]. (Texts by Wallon on authors of his choice.)
1979. 'Centenaire d'Henri Wallon' [The Centenary of Henri Wallon]. (Papers on the work of Henri Wallon presented at the International Congress on Child Psychology.)
1993. 'Henri Wallon parmi nous' [Henri Wallon among Us]. (Texts on Wallon published on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of his death.)

Tributes to Henri Wallon

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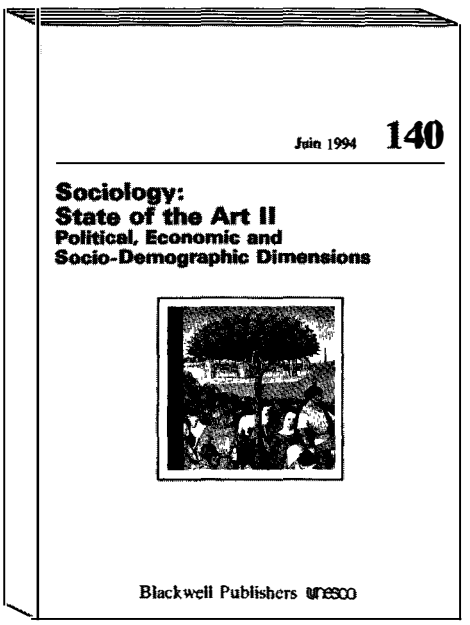

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